The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOLUME XV | New York, Saturday, July 27, 1918 | Number 195

Contents

Editorial Notes 354

Leading Editorials

Political Consequences of the German Reverse 356
A Plenipotentiary for Russia 358
The United States Employment Service 359

General Articles

Those Five Million Men ..... William Hard 361
Please, Mr. McAdoo ..... Grace Alexander 363
Prevention vs. Insurance? ..... I. M. Rubinow 364
A Chicago Interlude ..... Mabel Abbott 367
The Education of Joan and Peter—IV ..... H. G. Wells 368
Verse 370
An Open Letter to America ..... Arthur Ransome 371

Correspondence 377

Reviews of Books

War Aviators ..... F. H. 381
Governing the Workshop ..... H. J. L. 382
The Choice Before Us ..... U. T. Thayer 383
Poets Unmasqued ..... A. C. 385

THERE is one aspect of the German reverse in France for which we Americans have reason to be both grateful and gratified, and that is the part played by American troops in bringing about this probably decisive check to the German offensive. Their contribution has been considerable in amount, special in quality and indispensable to the result. Of course, the actual number of American troops engaged has probably not been large compared to the number of their French comrades. The service of the American army is manifestly auxiliary. It is giving aid to the French in much the same way that the British army did during the first year of the war. But the contribution is not the less indispensable, because the number of French divisions engaged is much larger than that of the American, and because the American army derives some of its leadership, its training and its supplies from the French. The untrained and unengaged American troops are in a sense already fighting for the common cause. If they had not been transported to France, and if their quality had not already been proved by the behavior of their fellow countrymen now in the line, General Foch would scarcely have dared to risk his reserves in a counter-attack. They constitute a dependable body of re-enforcements, and the existence of this reserve enables him to strike back, assured that two months from now fifteen or twenty additional American divisions will be placed at his disposal. There is sufficient evidence also that the American troops are showing unusual resiliency, and that they have the qualities which will be essential in case the grim task of driving the Germans from France finally falls chiefly on them. They have arrived in France early enough and in sufficient numbers to make German victory impossible, and they will continue to arrive in sufficient numbers to assure Germany's ultimate defeat.

SUPPORTERS of the administration have a special reason to be satisfied with the effectiveness of the American contribution to the German reverse. It looked for a while last winter as if the American army would not be sufficiently trained and munitioned or transported to France in sufficiently large numbers to count effectively in the decisive fighting of the present summer. There had been a disposition in the War Department to make its plans and preparations without sufficiently considering the importance of placing an effective American force in France at the earliest possible moment. If as a consequence of such a misinterpretation of the most essential aspect of their job Germany had won a victory in France this summer, no excuses would have availed to exonerate the administration for having failed to grasp the one salient fact of its task of military preparation. But it is equally true that in so far as it has succeeded in getting the American troops there in time and in sufficient numbers, its conduct of the war has been vindicated. Minor failings can well be ignored. It has accomplished the indispensable minimum, and last January or February what it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has accomplished would have looked utterly impossible. With a record of this kind to its credit, Republican criticism of the conduct of the war will lose what little carrying power and relevance it formerly possessed. The impregnability of the position of the administration was virtually admitted by the extremely tame proceedings and speeches of the recent Republican State convention at Saratoga.

ONLY the immortal author of A Tale of a Tub could do justice to the grand assemblage of the Republican party at Saratoga last week. What a spectacle did it present! A solemn convention of men and of women in a conference with men who only two short years ago did not dare to endorse that frail thing woman suffrage. Nicholas Murray Butler solemnly laboring to give birth to an enunciation of imperishable party principles which could be approved by a committe of Mr. Whitman's place-holders, presided over by that arch prophet of American feminism, Mary Garrett Hay, appropriately from Indiana. How sad, forlorn and tattered seemed the political garments of Elihu Root, James W. Wadsworth, Willie Hays, the boy statesman, also from Indiana, and William Howard Taft! And the great convention itself. Read the roll of honor, bearing the names of implacable servants of the public, freely chosen by their fellow Republicans, representing fully and excellently the body corporate of the party. They will remain in our memory forever: many of them noble sons of the defunct Progressive movement, now holding tightly to good jobs under Mr. Whitman's guiding hand, only a few short years ago battling with passionate ardor beside Governor Hughes against bossed conventions and all government invisible and unrighteous. Cheering with bursting lungs the eloquence of Mr. Taft as he built up the structure of principle that shall forever separate Republicanism from Democracy; cheering Mr. Taft, who bit the hand that fed him; cheering Mr. Taft, that perpetual reminder of a good dinner and genial after-dinner repose. So solemn, so wise, so decorous, that even the women were as anxious to rend the suffragette disturbers of good order as the men had been to rend the very women delegates when, two years ago, they came "hounding" statesmen over a "mere trifle like woman suffrage."

THEN the platform. It sounds like a commencement address designed "on the one hand" to inspire young men to battle for the right though the heavens fall, and "on the other hand" to assure prospective donors that the faculty is safe. It was drawn, we are told, by "the master builder." He, the mighty one, is "aroused," "indignant," "stirred"; he "follows with pride," he "has faith," he "favors," he "asks," he "calls," he "advocates," he "asks prompt attention," he "insists." The erstwhile and present chief distributor of Carnegie's "international conciliation fund," the stanch foe of militarism, demands universal military service as a permanent institution. He calls for an Allied army supporting a civil commission with "unselfish purposes" which is to seduce the Russian people back to paths of righteousness and to give them the "opportunity freely to organize their own republican form of government on the tried and tested foundations of public order, individual liberty and private property." Why not simply send the Russians a copy of Mr. Taft's acceptance speech in 1912? There are no classes in the United States we are told in the next breath. There are no farmers, no industrial workers, no capitalists, no tenants on the land, the census of the United States is all wrong. The men who crowded into the room of the Ways and Means Committee that drafted the Dingley tariff bill were all denatured Sunday school superintendents. The Farmers' Non-Partisan League of the Northwest is made up mainly of aviators. The American Federation of Labor is a mothers' aid society. There are no classes, but still "adequate wages must be assured" to labor, and help must be given to the farmers. And last and most joyous of all. The national suffrage amendment seems to be endorsed, is endorsed. Only two short years ago Senator Lodge, tongue in cheek, with his glittering eye fixed on Mr. Butler and other master builders, read the plank for the National Republican platform endorsing suffrage—but leaving it to the states to reject. Now cruel, marching fate, relentlessly calling for devotees to put their ears down close to the ground so that the tramping high heels may crunch them to earth, holds N. M. Butler's hand while he writes: "It is well."

COLONEL ROOSEVELT'S reasons for refusing to allow his name to be used as Republican candidate for Governor are extremely creditable to him and of undeniable force. If he were elected Governor he could hardly under the circumstances give the amount of time and attention to the specific duties of that office which their conscientious execution would demand. He has every reason to be passionately interested in the war, and he is clearly entitled to preserve his own freedom to undertake the kind of service with respect to the war demanded by his own conscience and his own sense of the public interest. For our part we are sorry that he has felt obliged to decline. The pres-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ence of a real leader and a vigorous administrator at Albany during the next two years would have enormously benefited the state of New York, while at the same time the Colonel's restoration to an important public office would have given to political discussion a much needed increase in vitality. But such reasons as these cannot compete for one moment against the honorable reality of Mr. Roosevelt's own scruples. The American people and his fellow-citizens of New York will like him the better for the decision.

MANY women think it the best proof of their morale to release men for the front. It has not yet occurred to a sufficient number of women that equally important is the releasing of nurses who can save men at the front. For this reason the government is calling for twenty-five thousand women between nineteen and thirty-five to join the United States Student Nurse Reserve. Those who enlist will hold themselves in readiness until April 1, 1919, for assignment to either a civilian training school or the Army Nursing School. The term varies from two to three years, but the student nurse is not only learning, she is being useful from the outset. The best trained and the most responsible young women are needed. The Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense has established recruiting stations for the campaign which begins July 29th. Surely there will be enough women who can see the merit of service unattended by publicity to fill the training schools.

BEFORE so very long the American people will be called upon to subscribe to a new liberty loan, much exceeding in magnitude any of the loans that have been subscribed down to the present. The loan will probably come at a time when the western front has settled down to a state of relative quiescence and both sides will be casting up accounts, estimating the resources at their command for a winter's endurance and another summer's campaign. Upon these estimates will depend the kind of peace tentatives launched in the winter and the manner of their reception. It goes without saying that financial power will weigh heavily in the estimates. The strength America exhibits in the next loan will be carefully considered, both by our Allies and by our enemies. This is a point to be taken into account by every American in the conduct of his private affairs. If he intends scrupulously to execute his national obligations in full, he can not afford to wait until the loan is announced before laying his plans for saving from income. He will have already begun to save expenses, to accumulate funds. Unless Americans generally adopt such a policy of saving the next loan can not be the success that the honor of the country requires.

SO long as the income tax rates remained modest, there was good economic ground for retaining the relatively high exemption limit of one thousand dollars for single persons and two thousand for the married. The smaller incomes were presumably more heavily burdened by war prices and required a measure of compensation. But now a drastic increase in the rates of income taxation appears certain. The normal rate may go as high as ten per cent, with corresponding increases in the rate of the super-tax. Accordingly it would appear reasonable to reconsider the exemption limits. It is not desirable to produce great contrasts in tax paying obligation between closely related income strata. If a single person is to pay out in taxes one tenth of his income above one thousand dollars, it would be desirable that incomes above $800 be taxed also, at a somewhat reduced rate—if indirect taxes upon necessaries are not levied instead.

PESSIMISTS who have been asserting that British liberalism has been killed by the war will find themselves confuted. At a recent meeting of representatives of the party a platform was adopted of which the chief points were a league of nations, parliamentary control of foreign policy, and full restoration of free speech, free press and rights of civil trials. These issues appeal to the old Liberal fighting spirit, which left many vital problems unsettled, to be sure, but yet made of England a combination of the freest and the best governed country in the world.

Political Consequences of the German Reverse

THE recent German reverses in France are, we believe, decisive in one respect. They definitely put an end to the possibility of a German military victory. Ever since the first German successes early in the spring a grave danger has existed of the occupation either of Paris or of the Channel ports by the German troops. The capture of Paris or Calais might not have been decisive, but the first would have profoundly discouraged the French and the second would have compelled the English to reconstitute their entire line of communications in France. The subsequent task of expelling the German army from France would have become one of almost inconceivable difficulty. These recent threats are reduced by General Foch's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

victory to insignificance. The German army may still be capable of offensive operations, but after its recent defeat the objectives of any subsequent offensives will necessarily be seriously restricted. By the time they recover from the consequences of their failure there will be a million and a half of American soldiers in France and in Great Britain. Confronted by an army reinforced to this extent the German Staff will never dare to expose its own troops to the dangers which would result from the failure of another major operation vitally to injure such an aggressive and determined enemy. The great German offensive, after successes unprecedented during the war on the western front, is none the less a costly and disastrous defeat.

The failure may not be disastrous from the military point of view, but unless we are very much mistaken its political effects will do irreparable damage to the existing military leadership of Germany. It means the collapse of the Junkers' supreme effort to end the war in a manner creditable to themselves and favorable to the perpetuation of their power. They have had their great opportunity. In order to take advantage of it they have forced a war-weary and disheartened people to undertake incredible exertions. They have won tremendous victories and have been tempted to continue the effort by the prospect of greater victories in the near future. But they have been tempted too far. They have overstrained their physical resources and undermined the moral endurance of the German nation. That is why the political consequences of the military failure will be irreparable.

In its political aspect the great offensive has been just as clearly an attack on whatever liberalism there was in Germany and Austria as it was on the security of the western democratic nations. Ever since 1916 German moderates have wanted peace, and in this respect they have represented the deepest desire of their own people. But the German government, while willing ostensibly to work for peace, could not and would not make the concessions by which alone peace could be obtained, because by so doing it would have discredited the initiative of the German ruling class in bringing on the war. In order to escape a weak peace it unleashed the submarine against commerce and brought America into the war, for the submarine was an offensive weapon and might gain them victory. As soon as it degenerated into a weapon of attrition rather than victory, German liberals revolted against the government and tried sincerely, if timidly, to formulate a peace acceptable to the western democracies, but they were not sufficiently aided by the government. In the meantime Russian military power was disintegrating and its disintegration offered to the German ruling class its decisive choice. It could either reform, place itself at the head of the German liberal aspiration and offer terms to Russia which would introduce equitable principles into the eastern settlement, win the friendship of the Russian democracy and allay the fears of the western democracies; or it could take advantage of Russian weakness, impose terms upon the new republic which were predatory and humiliating, and then employ the troops released from the Russian front in order to force its western enemies to accept those terms. It preferred the second of these alternatives and thereby issued its final challenge to the adherents of liberalism all over the world.

It was a prodigious gamble, such as only a group of military adventurers would have dared to undertake. If they had succeeded they might have aspired to the supremacy of the world. But just as the rewards of success would have been sweet, the penalty of failure will be correspondingly sour. The German and Austrian peoples need and crave peace more than ever. They have been fighting hunger battles and peace battles, not victory battles. In the fall their governments will be forced to submit to the western Powers definite proposals for a settlement. There has always been danger that, if they continued to be victorious in the summer's fighting, they might weaken the war spirit in some of our Allies by offering comparatively liberal terms in the west in exchange for a recognition of the eastern treaties. In all probability some such offer will still be submitted, but after the recent defeats it will not be anywhere as dangerous as it would have been in the event of continued victory. The German government could not now purchase acquiescence in the eastern treaties save by concessions in the west and elsewhere which would be tantamount to an acknowledgment of defeat, and such an acknowledgment of defeat will revive in their most bitter and irreconcilable form all domestic controversies in Germany which have been suppressed during the offensive. The German liberals will have an irresistible argument against a government and a ruling class whose political and military strategy at every supreme moment of the war has so completely failed and has failed always for the same reason—the need of a smashing victory in order to force on the enemies of Germany a predatory peace.

The coming German peace offensive has, consequently, in all probability ceased to be dangerous. It would have derived its efficacy from a military victory which the German Staff has failed to win. Provided the Allied armies, governments, and peoples stand firm, the gradual weakening of German and Austrian morale appears to be certain.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Of course much hard fighting must still be endured before the German government will admit defeat to its own people. This fighting must be sustained behind the line by an invincible determination not to compromise any of the essential convictions of a just peace. From now on the Allies will have the advantage of position. The Germans can for the rest of the summer neither wholly abandon the offensive; nor can they use it for their own political and military advantage. They will be forced to continue their incredible exertions without being encouraged by the promise of victory. They will be forced to carry on an aggressive strategy for some time after its chance of success has disappeared. As long as this situation can be made to last, it is scarcely necessary for their enemies to counter-attack, either in a political or a military sense, except for the purpose of taking advantage of any evidence of immediate weakness. The Germans will be stewing in the grease of a colossal and deserved failure and for the next few months we can afford to wait and see how thoroughly they will be shrivelled by this cooking.

A Plenipotentiary for Russia

RUSSIA cannot be well handled from a distance. So much becomes clearer and clearer. Too little trustworthy information comes out of Russia. Lord Robert Cecil has recently declared that the British government does not know what is going on in Moscow. It is improbable that Rome or Paris or Washington is better informed. Even if from time to time a trustworthy agent of an Allied government returns with a budget of information, we have no guaranty that conditions will not change radically before the information has been digested. There is no fixity of conditions in an empire in revolution.

To act in Russia on the basis of misleading or fragmentary or obsolete information would be dangerous in the extreme. Taking a gambler's chance, we might throw the bulk of Russia into the arms of the enemy. This would be to lose the war, in ultimate effect if not in the nominal terms of the peace treaty. Abstaining from action, we might see Russia drifting of her own weight toward the enemy. It is no great distance from present conditions in Russia to general famine; from famine to anarchy; from anarchy to an autocracy restored under German auspices and bound hand and foot to Germany. Again we risk the loss of the war, in ultimate effect.

By our Russian policy, whether one of insufficiently informed action or one of inaction, we run very decided risks of losing the war. If we handle Russia properly, it appears clear that we shall win the war. The issues at stake are of colossal importance. Shall we then continue in the traditional methods of dealing with international relations, or shall we recognize that this is a unique situation, demanding methods that are revolutionary? There seems to be no doubt that in this case we ought to free ourselves from tradition. Since we cannot safely handle the Russian situation from a distance we ought to project the power of our sovereignty to Moscow. We ought to have at Moscow a plenipotentiary with full powers to decide in each particular situation what we must do: how far it is advisable to do business with the Soviet organization or how far it is practicable to go over the heads of the Soviets to the Russian people: what forms of financial and economic assistance are feasible: at what point in time we can lend military aid to the forces opposing Germanization.

We have the greatest conceivable interests at stake in Russia. We must rescue Russia for democracy and for the Allied cause if our greatest efforts and sacrifices on the western front are not to be in large measure fruitless. We must build up in Russia the democratic and Allied parties, which all agree are potentially powerful enough to control the destinies of the nation. They are unorganized: it is barely conceivable that they may be brought to coherence by force introduced from without, but it appears morally certain that they can be brought to coherence by skilful and systematic work from within. Once these forces are organized Russia can be brought back into the field, if not this fall while the issue is still uncertain on the west, at least in another year when the Dual Empire begins to crumble under attacks from the west and south and the Germans prepare to retire behind their western barriers. We shall need Russia to end the war promptly and conclusively. We shall have Russia with us if we establish in Russia an organ capable of developing our interest to the utmost.

But can we find in America a man whom we could safely trust to act with full powers for us in the Russian domain? The qualifications are severe. In the first place he must be an eminent exponent of American and Allied war aims, an uncompromising enemy of German military imperialism, one who has faith that the Allied cause will prevail, one who believes that all other values must be subordinated to it. He must be ready to work with whatever party or parties promise best to serve the ends of Allied victory, or to hold himself altogether aloof from parties, no matter how strong his personal convictions that the ultimate fortunes of Russia rest with radicals or conserva-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tives, socialists or monarchists. It is not our business to settle such matters for the Russians, but only to develop the general Allied interest there. But if it were our business, it would remain a business to be utterly subordinated to the great issue of Allied success. This is no time for the realization of subsidiary objects. If we are to be represented in Russia, it must be by a man who understands clearly this condition.

In the second place we need a man who has exhibited notable talent for business organization. We cannot expect our interest in Russia to thrive if we sit idly by while hundreds of thousands perish for want of adequate machinery for food distribution. We ought to be represented in Russia by a man who typifies not merely American democracy, but American business efficiency. International power today is in large degree financial and business power. A real plenipotentiary to Russia must be able to draw upon these sources of power as well as upon those traditionally vested in an international mission.

Ability to wield the full moral and material power of the United States, such is the essential qualification to be met by the man to whom we could safely entrust our vital Russian affairs. We have not many such men, but the name of one will readily occur to everyone: Justice Louis D. Brandeis.

Justice Brandeis is distinguished among Americans for his ability to handle intricate problems of economic organization. He is equally distinguished for his ability to reconcile interests apparently locked in irreconcilable conflict. He would represent American efficiency, economic and social, better perhaps than any other American. His democratic record is known to all the world. In Russia not even the most suspicious Bolsheviki could regard him as a representative of American capital. He would be accepted anywhere as a representative of the American people. Justice Brandeis is an absolutely uncompromising enemy of Prussianism. He has faith that Prussianism can be overthrown and that its overthrow is the one great value to be achieved in the current time. All other values are to him minor, not for a moment to be permitted to divert action from the main issues. In the hands of Justice Brandeis our Russian affairs would be safe. The risk of losing the war through mistakes in Russia would be eliminated if he were sent to Russia with plenipotentiary powers.

But we cannot spare Justice Brandeis for a Russian mission, it may be urged. His presence on the Supreme Bench is essential. His work in giving counsel to officials of the government, in helping to keep public opinion informed and clear, is equally essential. So also are the armies of young men we are sending to France essential to our national life. We cannot spare them. But our paramount concern is the winning of the war. Whoever can contribute to the winning of the war can be relieved of his civil employment, however essential to our welfare. Justice Brandeis in Moscow would be worth many divisions. This appears conclusive in the present crisis.

The United States Employment Service

BY proclamation of the President, the United States Employment Service becomes the central labor recruiting instrument of the country after August 1st. In a statement issued on June 17th the President definitely urged all employers to refrain from recruiting unskilled labor in any manner except through this national agency after August 1st. By the ruling of the War Labor Policies Board, the initial prohibition will be limited to the recruiting of unskilled labor and to employers whose working force exceeds one hundred males. A supplemental resolution of the board gives notice, however, that as soon as the employment service is adequately organized the prohibition will be extended to the recruiting of all labor, skilled as well as unskilled, for public or private work connected with the war.

Few people appreciate the colossal dimensions of this new task which the government has undertaken. Before the war there were approximately thirty-three million wage workers in the country. Conservative estimates based upon the experience of the best managed plants indicate that the labor turnover in normal times amounted to approximately three hundred per cent. More than one hundred million vacancies occurred in American industry every year. The withdrawal of millions of men into the army and navy, the dislocation of wages and prices, the intensive recruiting campaigns conducted by munition manufacturers and by private and public agencies in behalf of such new essential industries as shipbuilding, have immensely increased the instability of labor. Governmental departments have competed with other departments for men. Wages have been kited to lure men from one locality to another. Public and private employers have poached upon one another's labor reserves. There has even been large-scale hoarding of labor. It is probable that the labor turnover of normal times has been multiplied two or three fold, so that during the past year from two to three hundred million vacancies have had to be filled.

In the light of this situation, the actual achieve-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments of American industry have been miraculous. There was a time not long ago when sober men, knowing the facts, were alarmed over the prospect of a disastrous industrial breakdown. The fuel crisis early last winter started reports of the imminent collapse of our aircraft programme, of our shipbuilding programme, of our munitions programme. The harvests were doomed to rot in the fields. But by a miracle of patience and self-denying economy on the part of the entire people we survived the fuel crisis; ships are sliding down the ways by the score; Liberty motors and airplanes are coming through; Kansas, among the earliest of our wheat growing States, reports that "every bushel of wheat that was grown has been properly harvested and threshing is well under way"; Mr. Hoover announces that we have greatly increased our export of food stuffs over the preceding year.

The crisis was stemmed but without guarantees against its recurrence. In his proclamation of June 17th, President Wilson gave warning that the existence of the nation was still menaced by the threatened decrease in its productive power. The establishment of a central national labor recruiting and distributing agency was imperative. In justice to employers and workers and in behalf of the national defence, he called upon the United States Employment Service, with the counsel of the War Labor Policies Board, to assume responsibility for one of the largest single tasks which the war has imposed upon the industrial arm of the Government.

Again, as in the case of our expeditionary forces, in the case of our shipbuilding, food supply and aircraft programmes, there are sober men who, knowing the facts, declare the undertaking impossible. For years Congress has failed adequately to support the Department of Labor in the development of a competent federal employment service. The staff of the national employment service has had to be built up incoherently, by shifting appropriations and by using such ability as the scant funds of the Department could command. State legislatures have been similarly shy of promoting centralized labor recruiting under public auspices. Both organized labor and organized business have been unsympathetic to a policy that threatened to encroach upon certain of their most precious privileges. The United States Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the law of the State of Washington, whose legislature, more foresighted and intelligent than the rest, had sought to eliminate the evils of private profiteering employment agencies by making the distribution of labor a public function, without cost to employers and job seeking workmen. As a result, there are probably not fifty competently organized public employment offices, state and federal together, in the entire country. The United States Employment Service announces that by August 1st it will have five hundred branch offices in operation. But most of these offices are still seriously undermanned or incompetently manned. Besides, the successful execution of the entire central labor recruiting project will require more nearly five thousand than five hundred offices.

The task looks impossible. But it is the glory of America that her people rise to the challenge of impossible tasks. By common consent, central labor recruiting has become an imperative national necessity. Without it there will be a falling off in essential production, or at best an inadequate increase; without it, as President Wilson has said, our national existence is threatened.

The United States Employment Service will need the utmost cooperation of governmental departments, of employers' associations, trade unions, of unorganized employers and workers. It will need the patient cooperation and patriotic support and encouragement of the entire American people. What will be launched on August 1st will be not a completed, fully equipped, smooth-running machine, but a great and essential national policy. That policy is based upon the faith of the President and his administration in the men who are enlisted in the civil service, in the men who operate American industries, in the capacity of our people to rise to the impossible when the existence of the nation demands that the impossible shall be achieved. It is for the employers and workers of America especially to say whether that faith, which is receiving such glorious vindication in France, shall also triumph in the factories of America.

The New
REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1918, IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BY THE REPUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC., 421 WEST TWENTY-FIRST STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. HERBERT CROLY, PRESIDENT, ROBERT HALLOWELL, TREASURER.

EDITORS

HERBERT CROLY FRANCIS HACKETT
PHILIP LITTELL ALVIN JOHNSON

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION FIFTY-TWO ISSUES, FOUR DOLLARS IN ADVANCE. SINGLE COPIES TEN CENTS. CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION FOUR DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE. FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR COUNTRIES IN THE POSTAL UNION, FIVE DOLLARS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE: REMITTANCE TO BE MADE BY INTERNATIONAL POSTAL MONEY ORDER.

ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Those Five Million Men

WHEN Mr. Baker dissuaded Congress from proceeding to an immediate consideration of the question of expanding the draft age, he took a great responsibility upon himself; because this question is an exceedingly difficult one, politically. It is saturated with sentimentalities and prejudices. It will require much debate for its clearing, and unless this clearing on the floors of Congress begins pretty soon, we may well fear that one of two things will happen:

Either the action taken will be too late for a proper meeting of the present emergency, or else it will be hasty and therefore perhaps decidedly imperfect.

If either of these two things should fall upon us, Congress will have to blame itself, in the end, just as much as it may blame Mr. Baker. Mr. Baker simply said that from his standpoint there was no instant need for an opening of the question. But Congress might have said, and said convincingly:

"It is true that you do not need any new reservoir of soldiers this minute, but everybody knows that you will need it shortly. Then you will come to us and ask for a little bill straight off. And we shall have to pass it straight off. You will drop a letter in the slot, and we shall have to give you a bill by turning a crank. We are tired of that kind of snap legislation. We intend to begin debating this subject now. We intend to pass a bill for you laying down, according to our constitutional duty, a national organization of the man-power of this nation, and then you can use that bill, in your administrative discretion, when you are ready for it."

Adopting such a policy, Congress would be discharging its obligations. Senator Johnson of California sometimes indulges himself in words which seem to carry the implication that Congress is a good deal of an automatic rubber-stamp. If there is truth in his contention, and if Congress does indeed accept the Administration's views too slavishly, the reason, the great reason, is that Congress allows too many of our large national problems to remain unattacked until they ripen into instant emergencies; and then the Administration proposes an emergency remedy; and then Congress, consisting of two houses and many hundreds of individuals, cannot possibly discover its own opinion offhand and it is obliged to swallow the Administration's opinion either without important change or else with changes inadequately considered.

In the eternal competition between the legislative arm and the executive arm, surely the legislative arm is condemned to an eternal inferiority unless it reaches out and grasps our national problems before they reach the stage of executive crisis. At that stage the executive arm is bound to be master. The expansion of the draft age is approaching the stage of executive crisis now.

Everybody admits that this expansion must come, and come soon. We are going to have, we are going to have to have, an army of 5,000,000 men as soon as it is physically possible for us to have it, to officer it, to equip it. Then, in proportion to our population, we shall have raised an army approximately one-third as large as Britain's. If we are going to "save" Britain and France and "rescue" them and be their "Big Brother" it is going to be incumbent upon us to approach at least a decent fraction of their bigness.

Congress, to be sure, has just passed an Army Appropriation Bill which assumes an army of only 3,000,000 men. But this action can hardly be called far-sighted. According to General Crowder, who certainly is in the best position to know about it, we shall have approximately 3,000,000 men in arms on August 1st of this year. And there is no shade of doubt that we shall draft hundreds of thousands of men during the fall and that we shall be obliged to strive onward without slackening toward the 5,000,000 level.

How shall we get those 5,000,000? Let us begin with August 1st, of this year. On August 1st we shall have 3,000,000. We must find 2,000,000 men. Where?

We must assume that we do not wish to go out of Class One of the draft. Classes Two, Three, Four and Five ought not to be entered now. Class Five, in fact, cannot be entered. In Class Five there are some 1,800,000 men who are permanently exempt. They are alien enemies. Or they have already voluntarily enlisted. Or they are clergymen. Or they are medical students. Or they are licensed pilots. Or they are "morally unfit." Or they are "legislative, executive or judicial officers of the United States or of a State or of a Territory or of the District of Columbia."

Among these groups in Class Five there is really just one that could conceivably, with good results, be transferred and distributed among the other classes. But this group is exempt by statute. It is exempt by act of Congress, beyond any possible administrative re-classification. Congress conferred exemption, permanent and total exemption, upon just two groups of persons:

One. Ministers of Religion, together with

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

students in the recognized theological schools.

Two. The officers, legislative, executive, and judicial, of the United States and of the several States, Territories and the District of Columbia.

In suffrage states, really, it might be quite possible to organize vocational courses in statesmanship among women and to "dilute" the masculine labor of state legislatures by installing trained female workers at the legislative lathes, thereby releasing a certain number of young politicians of draft age for study in Europe and contact with foreign institutions.

But this group, after all, is tiny. And all the other groups in Class Five are properly there and must stay there.

Coming to Classes Four, Three, and Two, we find that they are filled with men who are, all of them, or almost all of them, indispensable at home, in varying degrees. The word indispensable is not an absolute word. It is not a final word. But for the present these men are indispensable, in comparison with the men in Class One. They are indispensable because either they are "necessary" to a "necessary" industry or else they have to provide support for wives, children, brothers, sisters, parents.

Class Four consists principally of the men with dependents. It numbers about 3,500,000. The necessary men in necessary industries are principally in Classes Three and Two. As soon as we exhaust Class One, we go into Class Two, which contains about 500,000 men, and then into Class Three, which contains about 400,000 men; but these are the very classes which we most particularly ought not to touch. They are our "industrial reserves." Industrially, non-sentimentally, from the standpoint of cannon, from the standpoint of airplanes, from the standpoint of powder, it would be better to go into Class Four and take the married men with wives and children than to go into Classes Two and Three and take the men who have learned to work fast and to work effectively in the manufacture of war-supplies. And here is a situation surely worthy of considerable Congressional thought.

Arriving finally at Class One, let us understand that it consists really of all men who do *not* fall into any of the other classes. It consists of all the men who are left over after all proper claims for exemption have been allowed. How many men are there in this class today?

The answer is that on August 1st we must think of this class as including three groups.

First. There are the men who were registered last year and who have not yet been called. They number, the "effectives" among them, perhaps some 300,000.

Second. There are the men who were registered this year, in the spring, having turned 21. They number, in Class One, in "effectives," some 400,000.

Third. There are the men who may be combed out of Classes Two, Three, Four and Five, in case they were put into those classes by error. Sometimes this error is not altogether creditable to all the persons concerned in it. There is a certain firm which makes internal combustion motors, both for the pleasure of the general public and for the military use of the government. It put its old men on its pleasure motors and its young men on its government motors. And then it claimed exemption for the young men, on the ground that they were "necessary" to a "necessary" industry. This firm will perhaps be told to put its old men on its government motors and its young men on its pleasure motors, whereupon those young men will go into Class One. By such reclassifications, by such detections of vicious errors and of other perfectly innocent errors it is hoped that Class One can be swelled by 200,000 men.

Adding 300,000 and 400,000 and 200,000 together, we get 900,000. And on August 1st we have 3,000,000 men with the colors. And therefore the total number of men in sight is 3,900,000. And, to get our 5,000,000, we must still find 1,100,000.

Our first thought is to expand the draft age downward, at least to 19. But the sentimental objection to the lowering of the draft age is astonishingly powerful. Senators of the United States will even say, and do say, that it is not "right" to compel a man to do military service until, having reached the age of 21, he has been allowed to exercise his political voting "privilege." This argument is certainly not a military argument. The opinion of military men is seen in the fact that they allow young men to enlist even before the age of 19. They allow them to enlist at 18.

Accordingly, in the period from 18 to 21, we now have all the evils of the volunteer system. High-spirited boys enlist. Other high-spirited boys, who are prevented from enlisting by parental pressure or by economic obligations, are shamed and broken-hearted. Boys with the spirit of the slacker, and with no obligations, are not enlisting, and we see many of our best going and many of our worst staying—and hastening to marry before they reach the age of registration. It is an indefensible state of things.

But we may not hope for logic. We must be prepared for a compromise. Let us suppose that we drop the draft age to 20. Let us suppose that we at once include all the young men who reached the age of 20 between the time of the registration

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of last year and the time of the registration of this year. We shall get, in Class One, an additional 400,000 effective men. Adding this 400,000 to our previous 3,900,000 we get 4,300,000. We still need 700,000. To get them, and to get them now, suppose that we expand the draft age upward. How many men would we get if we expanded it to 45?

There are no official figures. But there are semi-official ones. People in excellent positions for observation say that from among the men in this country between the ages of 31 and 45 we would get at least 1,500,000 absolutely Class One men. They would be men not handicapped by dependents. They would be men not necessary to necessary industries. And if some of them were not fit for front-line work, what of it? Nearly forty per cent of our whole army is non-combatant. The older man who became a camp-cook would release a younger man within the army to become a real fighter.

With these 1,500,000 recruits our prospective Class One army would increase from 4,300,000 to 5,800,000. We have seen that 3,000,000 of them are already (on August 1st) in uniform, giving us an army much larger, in the field, than we had any of us officially anticipated. Our margin, our callable margin, above that 3,000,000, would be 2,800,000, at once. It would not be too large.

We have been calling men recently at an average rate of at least 300,000 men a month. At that rate a margin of 2,900,000 would give us only nine months' supply. It is not too much. People of all ages, and of all classes within the draft, ought to be able to look ahead for at least nine months with a reasonable degree of knowledge as to what is likely, and as to what is not likely, to happen to them. And, from the military standpoint, why not discount future possible surprises instead of merely awaiting them?

We do not know that the Germans will kill and capture a quarter of a million of our men in some colossal drive this fall, but they might. And then the spirit of America would demand not merely "replacement" but a double and a treble effort of the national will.

We do not know that the Mexicans, in their factions and factional quarrels, complicated by German intrigues, will stop our petroleum from Tampico and leave our fleet and the British fleet short of fuel, but they might. And we would then need an army, and a large one, in the Mexican direction.

We do not know that the Soviets of Russia will ever ask us to assist them with troops, but they might. And we would then wish to respond instantly.

A margin of 2,800,000 men is far indeed from being too large. And at present our margin, in Class One, is only 900,000. At the rate of 300,000 a month, we should use it up in three months. And it takes the Provost Marshal General's office exactly three months, at top speed, to prepare and execute any new registration.

Is it not clear that the executive crisis in this matter is only a few days off or perhaps even now actually here? And is it not clear that if Congress aspires to any slightest initiative about it and to any slightest leadership in the broad public discussion which should always attend a governmental question so intimate to the nation's life, it must start at once?

WILLIAM HARD.

Please, Mr. McAdoo

SIR: If, as Shakespeare has said, good wine needs no bush, it is equally true that a sound cause needs no complimentary introduction to prosper its pleading. Heaven knows the cause I am about to present is weighty enough (the particular fitness of my adjective will appear later) to earn a hearing quite on its own merit. Nevertheless, may it please you, I shall first relate an incident that recently occurred in a western school. A sixth grade class which was reading Macbeth had arrived at the prophecies of the weird sisters. Called on for the reading of this passage a boy delivered himself quite unconsciously, "All hail, McAdoo, Thane of Cawdor," etc. It will be granted, I believe, that the subject of current events has not been neglected in that school.

I know, honored Sir, that you already carry the responsibilities of a variety of public offices; but we also know that you are "bearing up" remarkably well. We do not, O Secretary of the United States Treasury in the time of the world's greatest war, financer of tubes, establisher of Federal Reserve banks, mighty Director of Railroads, we do not know any one who just naturally enjoys a job better than you. Hence I boldly direct your attention to a matter that lies within the bailiwick of one of your activities. I have already characterized it as a weighty matter. I allude to the horse blankets with which the Pullman Sleeping Car Company has for a quarter century (or longer) nightly tortured hundreds of innocent and exasperatingly patient human beings.

Horse blankets? Yes. I shall prove it. These blankets are, on the first count, of a heaviness like to those used to shelter beasts of burden. While I have never actually placed one of them in the scales, I know that drawn over a weary human body

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one of these blankets renders that body helpless in crushing misery. On the second count, these blankets are of the color of horse blankets, muddy, repugnant to the traveler, who for his good money should have better accommodations. On the third count they are of the texture of horse blankets, coarse, and covered with horrible bristles not unsuited to the thick hide of beasts but cruel to the human skin. On a November night when chill blasts sweep through the ventilators of the on-rushing train one longs to draw one's blanket snugly up to one's skin but immediately the tortures of the inquisition will be repeated. I deserve, in common with all mortals, O D. of R., to suffer for my sins, but the era of hairshift penances is past, and besides, it isn't the business of the Pullman Company to punish me. On the fourth count these blankets have an odor——.

Repose under such a covering is impossible. Nightmares haunt the wretched sleeper. Too hot with the blanket, too cold without it, he lies in misery till dawn or his destination releases him. The Pullman blanket has only one virtue: it is indestructible.

I am not one of those who on a journey say with Touchstone, "When I was at home I was in a better place, but travelers must be content," but I hold that being compelled at a high price to sleep under a horse blanket is a legitimate cause for irritation. Not only is it a horse blanket but it is the same blanket for a summer zephyr as for a winter blizzard, the same for the red-corpuscled college athlete who could, if he chose, vault into his upper berth as for the feeble old woman who goes creepingly to bed in her lower. Not until it becomes a choice between pneumonia or a Pullman blanket do I ever, raging inwardly the while, draw one of these abominations over me. Is it possible you yourself have not suffered from them?

It has been claimed, most honored Sir, that so puissant are you, you could, if you chose, sell wet matches to a dead man. So small a matter as the providing of bed coverings for the traveling public should not therefore trouble you. But the very novelty of the task may dismay you and I suggest a method. Withdraw from service all of the aforesaid blankets, announcing to the public that they require laundering. (There will be not the slightest extension of truth in the statement.) The rest is easy.

Lose them in the wash!

Any old darky woman can tell how it is done. If an investigation à la Secretary Baker should threaten, you have only to assume an air of complete innocence, rest one hand on each hip, roll your eyes, and with all the unction at your command say to your inquisitor, "Honey, dem blankets, dey jus' *speart!*"

But, honored Sir, there will be no investigation. The more knowing ones will guess the truth speedily and the real explanation will soon "perculate," as the kitchen utensils clerk said of the coffee machine. Quietly you can ship them off to military camps where horses are used and replace them with blankets suitable for humans. Then will the weary traveler bless you nightly and right gladly will he follow the example of the western schoolboy in adding to your titles. He will hail you Thane of Public Comfort—or anything else you like.

GRACE ALEXANDER.

Prevention vs. Insurance?

"PREVENTION," says a pamphlet recently issued by the National Industrial Conference Board, "is the very antithesis of insurance."[1] The pamphlet has been issued and the novel argument made for the purpose of combating the movement for health (or sickness) insurance, which within less than five years, originating with a small committee in New York, has gained so much headway that nine states have appointed government commissions for its investigation, with a total appropriation of considerably over $100,000.[2]

The organization publishing the pamphlet bears a somewhat indefinite name, which little indicates that it represents a combination of approximately seventeen employers associations, including some of the most powerful combinations of this class in the country.

"Prevention is the very antithesis of insurance." If the charge is true then the opposite must also be true, that insurance is the very antithesis of prevention. In fact, both statements are made with equal emphasis on the same page of this pamphlet. It is very illuminating that the same argument is made most frequently by insurance representatives in discussing the problem of health insurance, as for instance, F. L. Hoffman of the Prudential Life Insurance and William G. Curtis, President of a Casualty Insurance Company.

The purpose of the argument is quite obvious. Since we all want prevention of the ills and hazards that confront human existence (do we not?), we do not want insurance. And if the argument holds true of health insurance, why not of accident in-

[1] Sickness Insurance or Sickness Prevention? Research Report No. 6, May, 1918. National Conference Board, Boston, Mass.

[2] California, $42,500; Ohio, $25,000; Illinois, $20,000; Massachusetts (two commissions), about $25,000, etc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

surance, fire insurance, unemployment insurance or any other form of insurance for that matter? It is surely preferable that people do not die before reaching the ripe age at which time there should be no dependent children, than that they die young, leaving insurance money for their protection; it is better that property losses through conflagration be prevented, that able bodied workmen suffer no accident or disease, that they do not go idle for lack of employment, than that these losses occur and be compensated. Of all arguments advanced by interested opponents against health insurance, none are more dangerous because none are so subtle, so plausible, so seemingly in accord with the spirit of the times which demands a radical solution of social problems. Yes, and none are less honest, less sincere, less contrary to palpable facts and the demands of real life.

That it is better to prevent any loss, any calamity than to compensate for it, than to insure against it, is such an accepted truth that one almost blushes when called upon to discuss it. The obvious conclusion is that such calamities should by all means be prevented. But unless one seriously expects to prevent them all, how is the desirability of prevention to be used as a substitute for insurance? No matter how many fire losses are prevented by the fire prevention movement, how many accidents prevented by the safety first movement, and sicknesses by the health conservation movement, how does all that meet the problem of the burned house, the injured or ill and incapacitated workman? It is for these non-prevented cases that insurance is urgently demanded. Would any one seriously argue from the necessity of prevention of fires or reduction of mortality to the uselessness of fire or life insurance? In any sound public welfare policy both prevention and insurance are urgently required. It is true that they represent two different methods of attacking social problems but where is the evidence that they are opposed to each other?

In order to argue that insurance is the antithesis of prevention it is necessary to prove not only that insurance has a different aim, but also that it is opposed to prevention, that it shows a tendency to increase the losses from the very hazards it aims to insure against. The subtlety of this argument lies in just this—that there is a modicum of truth, almost an obvious, bromidic truth in it. Prevention is a result of care, and care results from fear of loss; in so far therefore as insurance relieves of fear (as is the purpose of insurance to do) it may result in the slackening of care and lack of preventive effort on the part of the individual. We are particularly careful with our matches when our fire insurance has lapsed; and many an automobilist will refuse to drive until in possession of his liability insurance policy.

Now let us assume for a moment that there are no forces working in an opposite direction and that insurance does on the whole result in an increase of losses, that it is the very antithesis of prevention. What then? Shall we dispense with insurance? Do the thousands of manufacturers who hold membership in the seventeen associations constituting the N. I. C. B. insure their plants against fire or not? And what would they think of the advice to cease insuring and substitute fire prevention instead? The fire loss of this country is about $250,000,000 annually. Property owners pay about $500,000,000 in fire insurance premiums. And even though the insurance is twice as expensive as the loss, fire insurance is admitted to be an absolute necessity because it provides the machinery (unfortunately a very expensive machinery) for the necessary distribution of losses.

But is insurance really an antithesis of prevention? Is the relief of individual fear and the weakening of individual care the most important effect of the insurance contract? What is an insurance contract in essence anyway? The danger of loss is not eliminated but it is transferred from an individual to a group. The loss through fire, the loss through death, the loss through injury, sickness or unemployment ceases to be an individual concern and becomes a joint concern.

Does this transfer stimulate or discourage preventive effort? How effective can the preventive effort remain when depending upon the individual only? Whether it be prevention of crime, disease, accident, or fire or any other hazard, it is through social effort that substantial results have been obtained within recent years. It is in efficient police protection and not individual prudence in staying home after dark that we put our hopes of safety. Regulation of dangerous processes, measures of public health, a sound employment policy, fire regulations—these are all social forces upon which we depend to make for a prevention of hazard, for a safer life.

Of course, individual care still remains and must always remain an important contributing factor. But even individual care is encouraged through social channels. Thus are created the educational movements for safety first, health first, for fire prevention days, for fire drill exercises, etc.

If, then, social prevention either supplements or substitutes for individual prevention, what has been the effect of insurance in actual experience? Whether insurance has actually reduced or increased losses it is of course impossible to demonstrate statistically. There has been such tremendous increase in the factors creating hazards and losses

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that one is left to the unsatisfactory method of speculating as to what would have happened if there had been no insurance. But as to the preventive work carried on because of insurance there can be no doubt. Fire insurance has resulted in stricter building laws, in better fire extinguishing facilities, in development of automatic sprinklers; compensation insurance has given a tremendous stimulus to better industrial safety; health insurance in Europe has stimulated better care of the sick and convalescent (which of course is truly preventive work), and unemployment insurance has stimulated better provision for public employment offices.

Not only have the insurance organizations of various types worked for prevention and reduction of losses, but they have also endeavored to obtain the cooperation of the insured in exercising better care while relieving him of the fear of loss; they have introduced another motive through the mechanism of premium adjustment. The schedules used in fire and in compensation insurance are well known illustrations.

The best plan for cooperation between insurance and the preventive effort is still to be worked out. But only prejudice can be responsible for the statement that insurance is the very antithesis of prevention.

Not a living manufacturer would accept this statement as reason for discarding his fire insurance or boiler insurance. But the pamphlet deals with sickness insurance for workmen. So by indirection, by innuendo, the sickness insurance proposals are discredited and instead a "thorough going investigation of the possibilities of sickness prevention under a definite national plan" is urgently recommended, and that of course is the time honored method of drawing the red herring across the path of any social reform urged for immediate adoption. Health insurance, with a substantial part of its cost from industry, is obviously a danger to be resisted; sickness prevention at public expense a much lesser evil—and moreover a thoroughgoing investigation on a national scale is a convenient way to postpone action for many years. Of course, a clumsy effort is made to hide the real purpose of the Bulletin. Nowhere is a definite stand against health insurance taken. Only numerous doubts are expressed and other people's objections sympathetically quoted. And in urging a nation-wide investigation of the merits of prevention, it is not even suggested that the merits of social insurance be also studied with equal care.

Discovering that the general purpose of this study is so obvious it is unnecessary to look for any material for detailed criticism. The "scientific" value of the pamphlet is not above the earlier ones published by the same organization. Figures are recklessly used without any evidence or authority. The annual cost of health insurance is estimated "at the stupendous total of from $700,000,000 to $1,000,000,000, that either estimate would eventually be exceeded is practically certain." Why?

Then 40,000,000 wageworkers are mentioned. Of course that is a gross exaggeration for a country with 100,000,000 inhabitants including children, married women, and also we believe a few million prosperous farmers. But assuming this figure to be correct, is $17.50 to $25 per family too great a cost for health insurance, including compensation for lost time and all medical aid? In what sense can it be spoken of as cost? Perhaps half of the necessary funds would be contributed by the workmen—they will get at least twice as much back in compensation and in medical aid, for much of which they now pay. All of this the authors of the pamphlet cannot help knowing. But the round figure $1,000,000,000 still remains as a very handy brick to throw at any plan for constructive reform—and for this purpose it is used in the pamphlet.

The studies of the N. I. C. B. are presumably written primarily for the information of the manufacturers. It is well known that some of the strongest and largest of the industrial plants already possess sickness insurance plans, voluntarily established, of which they bear sometimes part, and sometimes all of the cost. Are these large employers of labor still doubtful of the advantages of such care of their workmen? Of course the authors of the pamphlet cannot help recognizing that the rapid extension of social insurance in Europe furnishes an argument that cannot be disregarded. The stereotyped statement "even if it had worked advantageously in those countries the wisdom of its transfer to the United States where social and political conditions are so radically different would not necessarily follow"—does not possess much convincing power. It has been used against compensation. It is but a guarded paraphrase of the argument that health insurance is "unconstitutional, unamerican, autocratic, monarchic, Germanic, socialistic," etc. And furthermore it is difficult to keep a straight face while arguing that a social policy actually operating in Europe is too expensive for us.

It becomes necessary therefore to discredit European results of health insurance. And so the old argument is brought forth that the "average number of days lost on account of sickness, at least ostensibly, has steadily increased." And "the most reasonable interpretation of this rise in the sickness curve in Germany and Austria is that it reflects a growing tendency to malinger." The reader is not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

told that the figures quoted do not pretend to show the number of days *lost* on account of sickness, but the number of days compensated for. If an insurance system begins with a maximum benefit of 13 weeks, and gradually increases it to a maximum of from 26 to 52 weeks, there will be a gradual increase in the average number of days paid for. That statistical error has been made hundreds of times, has been explained equally frequently, but still the cry of malingering offers a convenient argument for the opponents of social insurance, who naïvely enough do not even notice that the same argument would also operate against commercial health insurance which they frequently defend.

The movement for health insurance is rapidly gaining in popularity among labor organizations. One wonders whether the latest attack by an institution purporting to represent so many thousands of employers will really prove of much service in improving industrial relations in the various industries represented.

I. M. RUBINOW.

A Chicago Interlude

PIETRO NIGRA was sick. Nigra is one of the 101 I. W. W. now on trial in Chicago, charged with conspiring to obstruct the selective draft and hinder the government's war work. His cheekbone, bruised when an insane man ran amuck in the Springfield jail last fall and beat him up, had developed pus and become threatening. He had failed to answer when the clerk of the federal court shouted the morning roll-call.

Judge Landis and the jury had withdrawn through the mahogany doors at the two ends of the marble courtroom; the trial was halted; and defendants, attorneys, newspaper men, clerk, stenographers, men from the marshal's office and the policemen in the corridor, were waiting for the doctor to report whether Nigra was really too sick to appear.

The break in the usual courtroom tension was startling, like the abrupt stopping of guns for a truce. The lawyers fidgeted aimlessly with their files of letters and pamphlets, exhibits in the case. Along the benches where the I. W. W. had just sagged into the 101 different attitudes in which they listen day after day to the proceedings, hunched shoulders straightened as their owners arose, and feet stepped with clumsy care over the fifty spittoons provided at the beginning of the trial.

A low rattle of talk and laughter rose simultaneously in every part of the great room; and all of a sudden, what a moment before had been a trial, was just a crowd of men. And, as a crowd of men always does when its natural tendency is not hindered by formalities, it crystallized almost immediately into groups. And this was the manner of some of them:

At one of the long tables sat Claude R. Porter, a prosecutor for the government, with a rose in his buttonhole and his foot comfortably propped on a round of the chair of J. A. MacDonald, one of the defendants, editor of the Industrial Worker, a leading I. W. W. organ. Across the table, in dangerous proximity to the earnest gesticulations of the two men, leaned "Red" Doran, another defendant, in flannel shirt open at the throat, a battered green eye-shade, a pair of dilapidated sandals and a suit bagged by long concessions to his muscular shoulders and legs.

They were having a tremendous discussion. It looked exactly like an argument about baseball or politics or the war: but the flying fragments of phrases that filled the air in the vicinity were blasted from the very foundations of social philosophy.

"—but my dear fellow, nobody denies that there are fundamental evils and that they should be corrected—"

"—industrial action; the other way won't work —"

"—No, no,—evolution, not revolution—"

At the end of the table, quite undisturbed by the controversy over the principles of progress, Big Bill Haywood had turned his bulk in the swivel-chair that is his by courtesy as national secretary-treasurer of the organization, and brought his good eye to bear on a couple of reporters. Few days pass at the trial without some fling by the defense at "the hired liars of the press," but there was no trace of feud now, as they sparred.

"You know you're the head of the American Bolsheviki, Bill," one prodded him.

"If you fellows ever go to Russia you'll learn a lot about the Bolsheviki,—a lot more'n your papers'll let you print," declared Haywood, wagging his head.

"What'll we learn?" challenged the other.

"You'll learn that the governor of Siberia is an I. W. W., for one thing," retorted Haywood with a grin.

Just below the judge's empty desk, a ring of courtroom attaches and I. W. W. listened in silent interest while an investigator for the Department of Justice and Charles Ashleigh, a defendant, compared industrial statistics picked up all over the world. Ashleigh sat on a table and swung one foot as he cited facts from his experience as a contractor putting up telephone poles in South America. The investigator made diagrams with his

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fingers on the polished wood as he countered with figures from Belgium.

"The average American bricklayer naturally works at a much faster pace than the English bricklayer," asserted Ashleigh. "When an American gets to work over there, it's as hard for him to slow down as it is for an Englishman to speed up when he comes over here. —But he has to slow down, just the same, or the other fellows on the job give him a hell of a time."

"Now right there's where you fellows have got the wrong idea. That's absolutely destructive of efficiency."

"And right there's where *you've* got the wrong idea. A man's health—his natural working gait—is more to be considered than efficiency. Life's worth more than property."

They were plainly enjoying themselves immensely.

So it went, in group after group. All the arguments with which the witnesses had nearly burst when repressed by the rules of testimony, all the unuttered counter-arguments that had given "punch" to the prosecution's performance of its duty, all the theories that seethed behind the 101 different kinds of faces in the prisoners' benches, all the beliefs that stiffened the backbones of the forces of law, had suddenly found the relief of expression. Man to man, they wrestled and argued and debated, feeling each other's strength and finding each other's weaknesses,—man to man and idea to idea. The room buzzed and clacked like an All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

The waiting reporters yawned, fidgeted and watched the clock nervously. "Wish they'd decide whether they're going on today or not," grumbled one. "It's nearly my dead-line and I haven't got any story yet."

And then, as one who snatches at a straw, he glanced around the courtroom. "Say," he said dubiously, "I wonder if there isn't a sort of a story in this?"

MABEL ABBOTT.

The Education of Joan and Peter

IV

The College Stage

OSWALD'S investigation of Oxford and Cambridge began even before Peter had entered School House at Caxton. As early as the spring of 1906, the scarred face under the cocked felt hat was to be seen projecting from one of those brown-colored hansom cabs that used to ply in Cambridge. His bag was on the top and he was going to the University Arms to instal himself and have "a good look round the damned place." At times there still hung about Oswald a faint flavor of the midshipman on leave in a foreign town.

He spent three days watching undergraduates, he prowled about the streets, and with his face a little on one side brought his red-brown eye to bear on the books in bookshop windows and the display of socks and ties and handkerchiefs in the outfitters'. In those years the chromatic sock was just dawning upon the adolescent mind, it had still to achieve the irridescent glories of its crowning years. But Oswald found it symptomatic; ex pede Herculem. He was to be seen surveying the Backs and standing about among the bookstalls in the Market Place. He paddled a Canadian canoe to Byron's pool and watched a cheerful group dispose of a huge tea in the garden of the inn close at hand. They seemed to joke for his benefit, neat rather than merry jesting. So that was Cambridge, was it? Then he went on by a tedious cross-country journey to the slack horrors of one of the Oxford hotels and made a similar preliminary survey of the land here that he proposed to prospect. There seemed to be more rubbish and more remainders in the Oxford second-hand book shops and less comfort in the hotels; the place was more self-consciously picturesque, there was less of Diana and more of Venus about its beauty, a rather blowsy Gothic Venus with a bad tooth or so. So it impressed Oswald. The glamour of Oxford, sunrise upon Magdalen tower, Oriel, Pater, and so forth, were lost upon Oswald's toughened mind; he had spent his susceptible adolescence on a battleship, and the sunblaze of Africa had given him a taste for color like a taste for raw rye whiskey. . . .

He walked about the perfect garden of St. Giles' College and beat at the head of Blepp, the senior tutor, whose acquaintance he had made in the Athenæum, with his stock questions. The garden of St. Giles' College is as delicate as fine linen in lavender; its turf is supposed to make American visitors regret the ancestral trip in the Mayflower very bitterly; Blepp had fancied that in a way it answered Oswald. But Oswald turned his glass eye and his ugly side to the garden, it might just as well have not been there, and kept to his questioning: "What are we making of our boys here? What are they going to make of the Empire? What are you teaching them? What are you not teaching them? How are you working them? And why? Why? What's the idea of it all? Suppose presently when this fine October in history ends, that the weather of the world breaks up; what will you have got ready for the storm?"

Blepp felt the ungraciousness of such behavior acutely. It was like suddenly asking the host of some great beautiful dinner party whether he earned his income honestly. Like shouting it up the table at him. But Oswald was almost as comfortable a guest for a don to entertain as a spur in his trouser pocket. Blepp did his best to temper the occasion by an elaborate sweet reasonableness.

"Don't you think there is something in our atmosphere?" he began.

"I don't like your atmosphere. The Oxford shops seem grubby little shops. The streets are narrow and badly lit."

"I wasn't thinking of the shops."

"It's where the youngsters buy their stuff, their furniture, and as far as I can see, most of their ideas."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"You'll be in sympathy with the American lady who complained the other day about our want of bathrooms," Blepp sneered.

"Well, *why not?*" said Oswald outrageously.

Blepp shrugged his shoulders and looked for sympathy at the twisted brick chimneys of St. Giles'.

Oswald became jerkily eloquent. "We've got an empire sprawling all over the world. We're a people at grips with all mankind. And in a few years these few thousand men here and at Cambridge and a few thousand in the other universities have practically to be the mind of the Empire. Think of the problems that press upon us as an empire. All the nations sharpen themselves now like knives. Are we making the mentality to solve the Irish riddle here? Are we preparing any outlook for India here? What are you doing here to get ready for such tasks as these?"

"How can I show you the realities that go on beneath the surface?" said Blepp. "You don't see what is brewing today, the talk that goes on in the men's rooms, the mutual polishing of minds. Look not at our formal life but our informal life. Consider one college, consider for example Balliol. Think of the Jowett influence, the Milner group—not blind to the Empire there, were we? Even that fellow Belloc. A saucy rogue, but good rich stuff. All out of just one college. These are things one cannot put in a syllabus. These are things that defeat statistics."

"But that is no reason why you should put chaff and dry bones into the syllabus," said Oswald. . . .

"This place," said Oswald, and waved his arm at the great serenity of St. Giles, "it has the air of a cathedral close. It might be a beautiful place of retirement for sad and weary old men. It seems a thousand miles from machinery, from great towns and the work of the world."

"Would you have us teach in a foundry?"

"I'd have you teaching something about the storm that seems to me to be gathering in the world of labor. These youngsters here are going to be the statesmen, the writers and teachers, the lawyers, the high officials, the big employers, of tomorrow. But all the big world of industry they have to control seems as far off here as if it were on another planet. You're not talking about it, you're not thinking about it. You're teaching about the Gracchi and the Greek fig trade. You're magnifying that pompous bore Cicero and minimizing—old Salisbury for example, who was a far more important figure in history, a greater man in a greater world."

"With all respect to his memory," said Blepp, "but *good Lord!*"

"Much greater. Your classics put out your perspective. Dozens of living statesmen are greater than Cicero. Of course our moderns are greater. If only because of the greatness of our horizons. Oxford and Cambridge ought to be the learning and thinking part of the whole empire, twin hemispheres in the imperial brain. But when I think of the size of the imperial body, its hundreds of nations, its thousands of cities, its tribes, its vast extension round and about the world, the immense problem of it, and then of the size and quality of *this,* I'm reminded of the Atlantosaurus. You've heard of the beast? Its brain was smaller than the ganglia of its rump. No doubt its brain thought itself quite up to its job. It wasn't. Something ate up the Atlantosaurus. These two places, this place, ought to be big enough, and bigly conceived enough, to irradiate our whole world with ideas. All the Empire. They ought to dominate the minds of hundreds of millions of men. And they dominate nothing. Leave India and Africa out of it. They do not even dominate England. Think only of your labor at home, of that huge blind Titan, whom you won't understand, which doesn't understand you——"

"There again," interrupted Blepp sharply, "you are simply ignorant of what is going on here. Because Oxford has a certain traditional beauty and a decent respect for the past, because it doesn't pause and assert itself rawly, you are offended. You do not realize how active we can be, how up-to-date we are. It wouldn't make us more modern in spirit if we lived in enamelled bathrooms and lectured in corrugated iron sheds. That isn't modernity. That's your mistake. In respect to this very question of labor, we *have* got our labor contact. Have you never heard of Ruskin College? Founded here by an American of the most modern type, one Vrooman." He repeated the name, "Vrooman," not as though he loved it but as though he thought it ought to appeal to Oswald. "I think he came from Chicago." Surely a Teutonic name from Chicago was modern enough to satisfy anyone! "It is a college of real workingmen, of the trade union leader type, the actual horny-handed article, who come up here—I suppose because they don't agree with your idea that we deal only in the swathings of mummies. They at any rate think that we have something to tell the modern world, something worth their learning. Perhaps they know their needs better than you do."

Oswald was momentarily abashed. He expressed a desire to visit this Ruskin College.

Blepp explained he was not himself connected with the college. "Not quite my line," said Blepp parenthetically, but he could arrange for a visit under proper guidance, and presently under the wing of a don of radical tendencies Oswald went.

It seemed to him the most touching and illuminating thing in Oxford. It reminded him of Jude the Obscure.

Ruskin College was sheltered over some stables in a back street, and it displayed a small group of oldish young men, for the most part with north-country accents, engaged in living under austere circumstances—they paid scarcely anything and did all the housework—and doing their best to get hold of the precious treasure of knowledge and understanding they were persuaded Oxford possessed. They had come up on their savings by virtue of extraordinary sacrifices. Graduation in any of the Oxford schools was manifestly impossible to them, if only on account of the Greek bar; the university had no use for these respectful pilgrims and no intention of encouraging more of them, and the "principal," Mr. Dennis Hird, in the teeth of much opposition, was vamping a sort of course for them with the aid of a few liberal-minded junior dons who lectured a little when their proper engagements permitted. There was a vague suggestion of perplexity in the conversation of the two students with whom Oswald talked. This tepid drip of disconnected instruction wasn't what they had expected, but what had they expected? Vrooman, the idealist who had set the thing going, had returned to America leaving much to be explained. Oswald dined with Blepp at St. Osyth's that night and spoke over the port in the common room of these workingmen who were "dunning Oxford for wisdom."

Jarlow, the wit of the college, who had been entertaining the company with the last half-dozen Spoonerisms he had invented, was at once reminded of a little poem he had made, and he recited it. It was supposed to be by one of the same Ruskin College men, and his artless rhyming of "Socrates" and "Fates" and "sides" and "Eurip-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ides," combined with a sort of modest pretentiousness of thought and intention, was very laughable indeed. Everybody laughed merrily except Oswald.

"That's quite one of your best, Jarlow," said Blepp.

But Oxford had been rubbing Oswald's fur backwards that day. The common room became aware of him sitting up stiffly and regarding Jarlow with an expression of extreme malignity.

"Why the Devil," said Oswald addressing himself pointedly and querulously to Jarlow, "shouldn't a workingman say So-*crates?* We all say 'Paris.' These men do Oxford too much honor."

Perhaps there was a sort of necessity in the educational stagnation of England during those crucial years before the Great War. All the influential and important people of the country were having a thoroughly good time, and if there was a growing quarrel between worker and employer no one saw any reason in that for sticking a goad into the teacher. The disposition of the mass of men is always on the side of custom against innovation. The clear-headed effort of yesterday tends always to become the unintelligent routine of tomorrow. So long as we get along we go along. In the less exacting days of good Queen Victoria the educational processes of Great Britain had served well enough; they still went on because the necessity for a more thorough, coherent and lucid education had still to be made glaringly manifest. Few people understood the discontent of a Ray Lankester, the fretfulness of a Kipling. Foresight dies when the imagination slumbers. Only catastrophe can convince the mass of people of the possibility of catastrophe. The system had the inertia of a spinning top. The most thoroughly and completely mistaught of one generation became the misteachers of the next. "Learn, obey, create nothing, initiate nothing, have no troublesome doubts," ran the rules of scholarly discretion. "Prize-boy, scholar, fellow, don, pedagogue, prize-boy, scholar, fellow, don"—so spun the circle of the schools. Into that relentless circle the bright, curious little Peters, who wanted to know about the insides of animals and the way of machines and what was happening, were drawn; the little Joans too were being drawn. The best escaped complete deadening, they found a use for themselves, but life usually kept them too busy and used them too hard for them ever to return to teach in college or school of the realities they had experienced. And so, as Joan and Peter grew up, Oswald became more and more tolerant of a certain rabble rout of inky outsiders who, without authority and dignity, were at least putting living ideas of social function and relationship in the way of adolescent inquiry.

It became manifest to Oswald that the real work of higher education, the discussion of God, of the state and of sex, of all the great issues in life, while it was being elaborately evaded in the formal education of the country, was to a certain extent being done, thinly, unsatisfactorily, pervertedly even, by the talk of boys and girls among themselves, by the casual suggestions of tutors, friends and chance acquaintances, and more particularly by a number of irresponsible journalists and literary men. For example, though the higher education of the country afforded no comprehensive view of social interrelationship at all, the propaganda of the socialists did give a scheme—Oswald thought it was a mistaken and wrong-headed scheme—of economic interdependence. If the school showed nothing to their children of the Empire but a few tiresome maps, Kipling's stories, for all his Jingo violence, did at least breathe something of its living spirit. As Joan and Peter grew up they ferreted out and brought to their guardian's knowledge a school of irresponsible contemporary teachers, Shaw, Wells and the other Fabian Society pamphleteers, the Belloc-Chesterton group, Cunninghame Graham, Edward Carpenter, Orage of the New Age, Galsworthy, Cannan, the suffragettes, and the like. If the formal teachers lacked boldness these strange self-appointed instructors seemed to be nothing if not bold. More and more did this outside supplement of education in England press upon Oswald's reluctant attention. Most of these irregulars he disliked by nature and tradition. None of them had the dignity and restraint of the great Victorians, the Corinthian elegance of Ruskin, the Teutonic hammer-blows of Carlyle. Shaw he understood was a lean, red-haired Pantaloon, terribly garrulous and vain; Belloc and Chesterton thrust a shameless obesity upon the public attention; the social origins of most of the crew were appalling, Bennett was a solicitor's clerk from the potteries, Wells a counter-jumper, Orage came from Leeds. Oswald had seen a picture of Wells by Max that confirmed his worst suspicions about these people; a heavy bang of hair assisted a cascade moustache to veil a pasty face that was broad rather than long and with a sly, oily expression; the creature still wore a long and crumpled frock coat acquired no doubt during his commercial phase, and rubbed together two large, clammy, white, misshapen hands. Except for Cunninghame Graham there was not a gentleman, as Oswald understood the word, among them all. But these writers got hold of the intelligent young because they did at least write freely where the university teacher feared to tread. They wrote, he thought, without any decent restraint. They seasoned even wholesome suggestions with a flavor of scandalous excitement. It remained an open question in his mind whether they did more good by making young people think or more harm by making them think wrong. Progressive dons he found maintained the former opinion. With that support Oswald was able to follow his natural disposition and leave the reading of his two wards unrestrained.

And they read—and thought, to such purpose as we will presently tell.

H. G. WELLS.

VERSE

The Mojavi Sphinx

Across a birch-white sky
Clouds like tenuous wings—
A purple mountain with straight, ponderous shoulders,
And red sand sifting between out-stretched paws.

ELIZABETH J. COATSWORTH.

To Gwendolyn

You were in the room, yet your body
Was stone cut in drooping lines
And hued with decorous, puzzling pinks and browns.
Even your hair seemed an elfin wig
Carelessly thrown upon your stone head,
And your eyes were hollows cradling broken shadows.
When you spoke, your body did not change:
It was as though a flock of sleepy birds
Had issued from your stone mouth.

MAXWELL BODENHEIM.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Open Letter to America

The March Revolution in Russia

REVOLUTIONS are not definite political acts carried out by the majority in a nation who are unanimous in desiring a single definite object. Revolutionaries and their historians often try to give them that character afterwards, but that is only an illustration of man's general tendency to supply his instinctive acts with family pedigrees of irreproachable orderly reasoning. It would be less dignified but more honest to admit that revolution is a kind of speeding up of the political flux, during which tendencies that in ordinary times would perhaps only become noticeable in the course of years, reach a full fruition in a few weeks or days. Revolution turns the slow river of political development into a rapid, in which the slightest action has an immediate effect, and the canoe of government answers more violently to a paddle dipped for a moment than in more ordinary times to the organized and prolonged effort of its whole crew.

Those servants of the autocracy who fomented disorder in Petrograd in March, 1917, believed that by creating and suppressing an artificial premature revolt they could forestall and perhaps altogether prevent the more serious revolt against themselves which they had good reason to expect in the future. They were wrong, precisely for the reason suggested in the first paragraph. They were wrong because revolution is not an act of political life, but a state of political life. Hoping to crush a political act, they created the state in which the old means of control slipped from their hands and they became incapable of the suppression of any acts whatsoever.

Their immediate political opponents made the same mistake as the servants of the autocracy. They believed that the autocracy could carry out its plan and therefore did their best to prevent the revolution. Thus in the days before the revolution of March, 1917 began, we had the spectacle of the autocracy wrestling with the bourgeoisie, both far removed from the actual people, both gambling with the lives of the people, with entirely different objects. The autocracy was trying to create a revolution which should fail. The bourgeoisie was trying to prevent the autocracy from creating a revolution at all. Looking back over a year, it is almost laughable to think that it was the autocracy that arrested the whole Labor Group of the Central War Industries Committee because that group of patriotic socialists had shown themselves capable of preventing trouble with the workmen. It is more than laughable to remember that Miliukov, the Cadet leader, sent a statement to the papers alleging that some one pretending to be Miliukov had been urging the workmen to come out into the streets, but that actually he begged the workmen, for their own sakes, to do nothing of the kind.

This is not the place in which to give a detailed account of the methods whereby the autocracy prepared the artificial fireworks which, unfortunately for them, turned into a very genuine volcano. It is enough to say that for several months before the revolution they had been running kindergarten classes for policemen in the use of machine guns just outside Petrograd, that armored cars had been kept back from the front with a view to moving target practice in the streets of the capital, and that weeks before the actual disorders Petrograd had been turned into a fortified battleground, with machine gun embrasures in the garrets of the houses at strategical vantage points. Meanwhile the food shortage, already serious in the preceding September, had been steadily emphasized. The whole labor of the country had been mobilized, put in uniforms, armed, and taken from the land, thus insuring starvation for the nation as a whole in the not distant future. Starvation in the present was assured by the complete breakdown of the always inadequate transport. Dissatisfaction with the government was common to every class of the population, although it had different causes. Thus the bourgeoisie were dissatisfied with the government because it put difficulties in the way of a successful waging of the war that was to give Constantinople to Russia. The aristocracy were dissatisfied with the Tsar on account of his inability to keep his family in order, or to hide the fact that it was in disorder. The folk, the great bulk of the nation, were dissatisfied with the government because they held the government responsible for their increasingly difficult conditions. They were dissatisfied with the government for waging the war, while the classes above them were dissatisfied with the government for not waging it well enough.

For one moment these various discontents were united and in one matter. When the revolution had begun, when the flux had already gathered speed, when the banks of the hitherto placid stream were already crumbling under pressure of the torrent, there was not a single class in the nation that was not dissatisfied with the Tsar. The Tsar, accordingly, left the stage as politely as he could, as painlessly as a person in a play. And, seeing the bloodless character of his removal, and mistaking his removal for the object and end of the revolution, English, Americans and French united in applauding the most moderate, the biggest, the most surprising revolution in the world. The bourgeois classes in the fighting countries and those of the laboring classes who by reading newspapers had been tamed to a happy acquiescence in bourgeois ideas were a little troubled lest the disturbance in Russia should affect their war, they having forgotten that they were fighting for democracy and that the enfranchisement of 180 million souls was in itself a greater victory than they had set out to gain; so that, from that moment on, the main object of the war should have been to save that victory. But, if the bourgeois classes in the Allied countries were a little troubled, their disquiet was as nothing in comparison with the helpless terror of the bourgeois classes of Russia. They had taken no part in the actual starting of the revolution. Miliukov, as he openly confessed to his party, had seen from his window the soldiers pouring out into the street with red flags to fight for the people instead of for their masters, and he said to himself: "There goes the Russian Revolution, and it will be crushed in a quarter of an hour." A little later, he had seen more soldiers in the streets, and decided that it would not be crushed so easily. It was only when the risks had already been taken by plain soldiers and workmen, by Cossacks who refused to fire on them; it was only when the revolution had begun, that the already existing organ of the bourgeoisie, the Duma, threw itself into line, and, foam on the crest of an irresistible wave, tried vainly to pretend that it had the power to control and direct the wave itself.

Already a newer, more vital organ was forming. While

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Miliukov was formulating his ideas about the preservation of the dynasty, or, in other words, the transfer of the autocracy to the bourgeoisie, the Soviet of Workmen's Deputies, at first merely a small group of Duma Labor Members, had formulated quite other ideas, had declared that the revolution belonged to those who made it, not to those who stood aside and then sought to profit by it, and had stated that neither Miliukov nor the outworn Duma had the right to decide their future for those who had won their freedom by risking their lives, but that that task would be undertaken by a Constituent Assembly which should represent all Russia. Subsequent history illustrated the necessary opportunism of all parties in a time of revolution, since within a few weeks Miliukov and his party had declared for a republic, and, when the Constituent Assembly met, it had already earned for itself a place like that of the Duma among the relics of the past, and was gently set aside by the Soviet, which had been the first cause of its summoning.

The Provisional Government and the Soviet

There were thus formed two bodies, each of which claimed to represent the revolutionary nation. The first of these was the Provisional Government, which was appointed by an executive committee of the Duma, and so did indirectly represent that body, which, never fully representative of the people, had lost in the course of the war any claim to stand for anything except the bourgeois and privileged classes. The second of these was the Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' deputies. Each thousand workmen had the right to send one member to the Soviet, and each company of soldiers. From the very first there could be no sort of doubt in the mind of an unprejudiced observer as to which of these two bodies best represented the Russian people. I do not think I shall ever again be so happy in my life as I was during those first days when I saw working men and peasant soldiers sending representatives of their class and not of mine. I remembered Shelley's

> Shake your chains to earth like dew
> Which in sleep had fallen on you—
> Ye are many—they are few,

and wondered that this thing had not come to pass before. And I thought how applicable to revolution are Sir Thomas Browne's words on the Flood, when he wrote: "That there was a Deluge once seems not to me so great a Miracle as that there is not one always."

Immediately there became visible a definite fissure, soon a wide gulf, between the ideals of these two bodies, the government and the representatives of the people. The people, the working classes, the peasants, who suffered most from the war, demanded that steps should be taken to secure peace. They did not want to fight to get territory for the sake of some phantasmagoric gain which did not affect them, which they did not understand. They were starving already, and saw worse starvation ahead. The government, on the other hand, was, if anything, except for the presence in it of Kerenski, the labor member, more definitely imperialistic than the autocracy whose place it had taken.

The gulf between the working classes and the government became suddenly deeper when it was realized that the future of the revolution depended on the possession of the army. If the army were not to be swept into the revolution, if it were allowed to remain apart from politics, it would be a passive weapon in the hands of the government, which would thus be able to suppress the Soviets, and so the true expression of the people's will, whenever it should think fit. If the government had been able to retain possession of the army, then Miliukov might have had his way and the bourgeoisie would have secured the profits of the revolt of the masses.

This, however, was not to be, and immediately the contradiction between a revolution and war of the imperialistic kind became evident. The army, which at that time meant practically the whole of the younger peasantry, took the share in politics it had a right to take. From that moment the future of the Soviets was assured, and the bourgeois government was doomed to be a government only by the good will of the Soviets, who, within a few days of the beginning of the revolution, were the only real power in the country.

That they had been right in fearing retention of the army by the bourgeoisie was proved again and again, by Kerenski, Kornilov, Kaledin, Alexeiev, Dutov, at subsequent periods of the revolution, each one in turn basing his resistance to the Soviets on some part of the army which had been kept free from the contagion of free political expression.

Then began the long struggle of the summer. The Soviets, in which the moderates who, mistrusting their own abilities, desired to keep the government as a sort of executive organ, were in a majority, exerted all their influence on the government in the direction of peace. The government made its representations to the Allies, but, at any rate at first, gambled in the future, and pretended that things were not so bad, and that Russia could still take an active part in the war. There was a decisive moment when Miliukov wrote a note to the Allies calculated to lull them to believe that the changes in Russia meant nothing and that Russia stood by her old claims. The soldiers and people poured into the streets in protest, and that lie had to be publicly withdrawn.

Already there was serious opposition to the Moderate party in the Soviets from the Bolsheviks, who urged that coalition with the bourgeoisie was merely postponing peace and bringing starvation and disaster nearer. The Moderates proposed a Stockholm conference, at which the socialist groups of all countries should meet and try to come to a common understanding. This was opposed by the Allied governments *and by the Bolsheviks, on the ground that the German Majority Socialists would be the agents of the German government.* One deadlock followed another. Each successive deadlock strengthened the party of the Bolsheviks, who held that the Provisional Government was an incubus and that all authority should belong to the Soviets.

The Bolshevik leaders, Lenin and Trotsky, had come from exile in western countries not merely to take their share in a Russian revolution, but to use Russia in kindling the world revolution. They called for peace, but peace, for them, was not an end in itself. They could say, with Christ, that they brought not peace but a sword. For they hoped that in stirring the working classes of the world to demand peace from their governments, they would be putting into their hands the sword that was necessary for the Social Revolution, in which cause they had both, like many of their friends, spent the best years of their lives.

In their own country, at any rate, they have proved that they were right in their calculation. The struggle for peace, the failure to obtain it, shook the government into the disastrous adventure of the Galician advance, shook it again with the Galician retreat, weakened it with every

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

telegram from Allied countries that emphasized the continuance of the war. Each shock to the government was also a shock for the Moderate party in the Soviets. The struggle in Russia became, as the Bolsheviks wished it should become, a struggle between the classes, a struggle in which the issue became ever clearer between the working and the privileged classes. The government went to Moscow for moral support, and came back without it. The Kornilov mutiny, a definite attempt against the Soviets by a handful of the privileged classes, merely strengthened the organizations it was intended to overthrow. Within the Soviets the Moderate party, which had already come by force of events to be a sort of annex of the bourgeoisie, grew weaker and weaker. Just as the government went to Moscow to seek support in a conference, so the Moderate party, feeling support slipping from under it, knowing that the next meeting of the All-Russian Assembly of Soviets would find it in a minority, treacherously sought new foothold in an artificial democratic assembly. Not even the tactics of the Moderate party shook the actual fabric of the Soviets, and when, in October, first Petrograd, then Moscow, showed a huge Bolshevik majority, the Bolshevik leaders were so confident that they had the country behind them that they made every single arrangement for the ejection of the government openly over the telephone, and, notwithstanding, neither the government nor the old Moderates (now in a minority) could muster authority to prevent them.

The point that I wish to make is this: that, from the first moment of the revolution to the present day the real authority of the Soviets has been unshaken. The October revolution did not give authority to the Soviets. That had always been theirs, by their very nature. It was merely a public open illustration of the change of opinion brought about in the Soviets themselves by the change of opinion in the working men and soldiers who elected them. The October revolution cleared away the waste growths that hid the true government of Russia from the world, and, as the smoke of the short struggle died away, it was seen that that government had merely to formulate an authority it already possessed.

What Is the Republic of Soviets?

The actual formulation of the Soviet constitution was a matter of practice in a developing democratic revolutionary power. There have been a number of small formal changes, of readjustments of interdependent parts in the machine, but I do not think either opponents or supporters of the Soviet government can quarrel very seriously with the following statement:

Every workman, every peasant, in Russia has the right to vote in the election of deputies to his local Soviet, which is made up of a number of deputies corresponding to the number of electors. The local Soviets choose their delegates to an All-Russian Assembly of Soviets. This All-Russian Assembly elects its Central Executive Committee on a basis of approximately one in five of the delegates to the Assembly. This central executive committee controls, appoints and dismisses the People's Commissaries who are the actual government. All decrees of state importance are passed by the Central Executive Committee before being issued as laws by the Council of People's Commissaries.

At each successive All-Russian Assembly of Soviets the executive committee automatically resigns, and the Assembly as a whole expresses its approval or disapproval of what has been done by its representatives and by the Council of Commissaries during the period since the previous All-Russian Assembly, and, electing a new Executive Committee, which in political character accurately corresponds to the party coloring of the Assembly, insures that the controlling organ shall accurately reflect the feeling of the electorate.

No limit is set to local re-election. Deputies are withdrawn and others substituted for them whenever this seems necessary to the local electorate. Thus the country is freed from the danger of finding itself governed by the ghosts of its dead opinions, and, on the other hand, those ghosts find themselves expeditiously laid in their graves as soon as, becoming ghosts, they cease to have the right to rule.

Just as the Soviet constitution insures that the actual lawgivers shall be in the closest touch with the people, just as it insures that in deed instead of in amiable theory, the people shall be their own lawgivers, so also it provides for intercommunication in a contrary direction. The remotest atom on the periphery is not without its influence on the centre. So also the centre through the Soviets affects the atoms on the periphery. The institution of Soviets means that every minutest act of the Council of People's Commissaries is judged and interpreted in accordance with its own local conditions by each local Soviet. No other form of government could give this huge diverse entity of Russia, with its varying climates and races, with its plains, its steppes, its wild mountains, the free local autonomy of interpretation which it needs. The shepherd of the Caucasus, the Cossack from the Urals, and the fisherman from the Yenisei can sit together in the All-Russian Assembly, and know that the laws whose principles they approve are not steel bands too loose for one and throttling another, but are instruments which each Soviet can fashion out in its own way for the special needs of its own community.

This constitution is one particularly apt for Russia. It is also particularly apt for a country in a time of revolution. It affords a real dictatorship to the class that is in revolt, and such dictatorship is necessary, since no one could expect from members of the class that is being ousted from its place of domination whole-hearted assistance in its own undoing. Those democrats in other countries and in Russia who do not understand what is happening under their eyes exclaim at the unfairness of excluding the bourgeoisie from power. They forget, or have never realized, that the object of the social revolution is to put an end to the existence of a bourgeois, or exploiting class, not merely to make it powerless. If exploitation is destroyed then there can be no class of exploiters, and the present exclusion of the bourgeoisie from the government is merely a means of hastening and rendering less painful the transition of the bourgeois from his parasitic position to the more honorable position of equality with his fellow workers. Once the conditions of parasitism, privilege and exploitation have been destroyed, the old divisions of the class struggle will automatically have disappeared.

By the nature of things it has so happened that practically all the foreign observers of events in Russia have belonged to the privileged classes in their respective countries, and have been accustomed to associate with the privileged classes in Russia. They have consequently found it difficult to escape from their class in judging the story happening before their eyes. Those working men sent from the Allied countries, less with the idea of studying the revolution, but of telling it to do what the Allies wanted, have also been men specially chosen, and deprived by their very mandates of the clear eyes and open mind they should have had. Socialists especially, who had long dreamed of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

revolution, found it particularly difficult to recognize in this cloudy, tremendous struggle the thing which their dreams had softened for them into something more docile, less self-willed. Nothing has been more remarkable or less surprising than the fact that of all the observers sent here from abroad those men have seen the thing clearest who by their upbringing and standards of life have been furthest from the revolutionary movement.

I do not propose to recapitulate the programme of the Soviet government, nor to spend minutes, when I have so few, in discussing in detail their efforts towards an equitable land settlement, or their extraordinarily interesting work in building up, under the stress of famine and of war, an economic industrial organization which shall facilitate the eventual socialization of Russia. That is material for many letters, and here I have not time for one. I therefore take the two events which have been most misused in blackening the Soviet government to those who should have been its friends. These were the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and the negotiations which ended, temporarily at least, in a separate peace between Russia and the Central Empires. I take these two events, and try to show what happened in each case and why the reproaches flung at the Soviets on account of them were due either to misunderstanding or to malice.

The Constituent Assembly

I suppose in America, as in England, the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly was one of the events that best served the people who were anxious to persuade public opinion that the Soviet government was a government of usurpation holding its own by force, and not representing the will of the people. I think that, without any special pleading, it will be possible to bring together facts which put an entirely different light on that event. The mere fact that the parties opposed to the Bolsheviks had spent eight months in murdering the Constituent Assembly, putting it off day by day in hopes that the country would change, and that the revolution would come crawling home asking for a quiet life, leaving the gentlemen to do the work of the government, should be set against the short speech of the sailor who told the assembly it had talked enough, that its guards were tired, and that really it was time to go to bed. It should be remembered that the Constituent Assembly was for neither party an end in itself. For each party it represented a political instrument, not a political aim. It was a tool, not a task. It was thrown away when further use of it would have damaged the purpose for which it was invented. Look back, for a moment, on its history. The very idea of a constituent assembly was first put forward by the Soviet, by the very body, which, in the end, opposed its realization. The Soviet, in those exhilarating days of March, 1917, declared that without such an assembly the future of Russia could not be decided. The effect of this declaration was to make impossible Miliukov's plan of choking the revolution at birth. Miliukov, in the first days of the revolution, tried by means of quick jugglery with abdications, a regency and a belated constitution, to profit by the elemental uprising of the masses to secure an exchange of authority out of the hands of the Tzar's bureaucracy into the hands of the bourgeoisie. For him, the revolution was to be a tramcar which would stop conveniently at the point where the Cadet party wished to alight. The idea of the Constituent Assembly was like a good big label on that tramcar showing that it had a further destination. It became clear at once that the car would not stop at the point that Miliukov had chosen. The next hope of the bourgeoisie was to keep it moving to prevent it stopping anywhere else until the passengers should be so tired of moving that they would be glad to stop anywhere and would be amenable and peaceable on alighting. The bourgeois parties deliberately postponed the meeting of the Constituent Assembly, since it was clear that, were it to meet at once, its members would be practically identical with those of the Soviet, so that the voice of the bourgeoisie would be unheard in the roar of the waking masses. The aim of the bourgeoisie was (1) to postpone the elections until the electors had wearied of the Soviets, and (2) to postpone such reforms as most concerned the destruction of their own privileges (such as the land reforms) until they could summon a Constituent Assembly whose character would be agreeable to themselves. While the bourgeoisie held this attitude it was natural that the Soviets, and, most of all the left party in the Soviets should use the Constituent Assembly as a means of showing up the duplicity of their bourgeois opponents. Gradually circumstances changed. The bourgeoisie lost hope, and transferred their allegiance to the moderate majority of the Soviets, since they began to realize that the marked increase of Bolshevism heralded something from their point of view even worse than the Constituent Assembly as it would have been in April or May. The extremely flexible representation of the Soviets showed that the masses were coming nearer and nearer to the position of the Bolsheviks, or rather to a readiness to support the Bolshevik leaders in view of the manifest failure of the coalition government to get peace or indeed anything else that the masses desired. The Constituent Assembly became now the last hope of the original moderate members of the Soviet executive, who felt the ground of real support in the active political masses slipping from beneath their feet. At this point came the October revolution, when the coalition, already a ghost, and a discredited ghost, was laid in its grave. Immense Bolshevik majorities in the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets, and then in the All-Russian Assembly of Soviets, proved that the mass of active political opinion in the country fully approved of the step that had been taken.

Then followed the elections to the Constituent Assembly (organized and canvassed before the October revolution) in which there was a majority against the Bolsheviks. The explanation of this is perfectly simple. It lies in the fact that a revolution is a very uncomfortable thing for everybody who takes part in it, and that great numbers of people, during the preceding eight months had come to look forward to the Constituent Assembly much as children look forward to the word FINIS at the end of a difficult lesson-book. The Constituent Assembly meant for these people an end to political debate, an end even to political life, an end anyhow to revolution. In every country it is only a small minority that really concerns itself with politics. Outside that minority is a big unconscious voting material, which does not concern itself with active politics, and asks nothing from its government except to be let alone. This indifferent mass which took very little part in the living politics of the Soviets was ready to vote for the Constituent Assembly in a sort of dim belief that those elections mean a return to quiet life, and should therefore be encouraged. It voted much as rich men give alms to a charity. It voted in much the spirit of the rich man who is willing to give alms to a deserving charity for which he would be most unwilling to do any real work. It knew vaguely that the bourgeoisie were fairly bad, and it had also heard that the Bolsheviks were terrible people.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It therefore put its votes on the side of those people against whom it had heard nothing in particular. And the result was that the live part of the nation was faced almost at the moment of coming into their own with a legacy in the form of an assembly the majority in which was made up of the very men whom they had just overthrown. The question was a plain one. Should the conscious workers of the country submit to the dead weight of the unconscious, even if that dead weight were artfully fashioned by their enemies into the form of the very tool with which they had been successfully working? The question was put at a moment of extreme difficulty, when acceptance of the Constituent Assembly would have relieved the Bolsheviks (at the New Year) of tremendous responsibility. It would have been an easy way out, for cowards. But the Bolsheviks were not afraid of responsibility, were not looking for easy ways out, were confident that the whole of the active, conscious population was behind them, and swept the Assembly aside. Not anywhere in Russia did the indifferent mass stir in protest. The Assembly died like the Tsardom, and the coalition before it. Not any one of the three showed in the manner of its dying that it retained any right to live.

Peace Negotiations

The day after the October revolution Lenin proposed and the Assembly carried the declaration on peace with its promise to do away with the secret diplomacy that had kept Russia in the war beyond her strength, and allowed small groups to gamble in the lives of nations. On that day, October 26th (old style), the whole world was told that the new Russian government was ready to conclude peace itself, and invited all the fighting countries to put an end to the war "without annexation [that is without the seizure of other people's land and without the forced incorporation of other nationalities] and without indemnity." The declaration was sent out by radio on November 7th, o. s. Some governments prevented its publication, others sought to disguise its true character and to give it the appearance of an offer of separate peace. The Allies replied to it with a threat conveyed to the Russian Commander-in-Chief, Dukhonin, that further steps towards separate peace would have serious consequences. It should of course be remembered that the Allies were in a position of peculiar difficulty. Practically all the Russians who were able to give direct information to members of Allied governments belonged to the classes that had persistently fed themselves and others with lies as to the character of the Bolsheviks. They believed that the Soviets could hold authority only for a few days and they persuaded the Allied governments to share that belief. The next step of the Soviets was an agreement, made across the front itself, stopping all military operations between the Black Sea and the Baltic. This was followed by yet another invitation to the Allies to join Russia in peace negotiations. Meanwhile the German government with one eye on the military party and the other on the feeling of German Labor which at that time was unrestful and excited by the Russian revolution, was hesitating over its answer. I shall not here attempt any detailed history of what followed. My only point is that the Soviet government cannot be accused of having sought and obtained a separate peace. The first aim of the Bolsheviks was, as it always will be, a Universal Social Revolution. They hoped to illustrate to the workers of the world the possibility of honorable peace, and nothing would have pleased them better than to find that such a peace was rejected by all governments alike, so that the workers convinced of its possibility should rise and overthrow them. That was their general aim. They, least of all governments in the world, were interested in a German victory. Their proposal was for a general peace, for the peace which Russia, in agony, had been awaiting for a year.

What followed? Step by step, they published every detail of their negotiations over the armistice, every word of the German replies. Then came the first German answer as to the conditions of peace, in which Germany and her allies expressed themselves ready to make the Russian formula the basis of negotiation. The Bolsheviks believe that if the Allies had even at that late hour joined them, so that in withdrawing from that position the Germans would have been facing a continuance of the war as a whole instead of merely a failure to obtain peace with the weakest of the Allies, peace on the Russian formula would have been attainable. The Allies left them, unrecognized, ignored, to continue their struggle single-handed. The Germans now took a bolder line and the hand outstretched in spurious friendship became a grasping claw. The first Russian delegation came home to confer with the Soviet government as to what was to be done in this new situation when the peace they had promised their exhausted army, their tortured working classes, seemed to be fading like a mirage. Trotsky at the head of a reinforced delegation went to Brest with one of the most daring plans with which any David has sought to destroy his Goliath.

The absence of the Allies had deprived him of the possibility of exhibiting to the working classes of the world the inability of their present governments to conclude a peace in which should be neither conqueror nor conquered. He now attempted to bring about a revolution in Germany or to obtain such a peace for Russia by making the German government itself illustrate in their negotiations with him their utter disregard for the expressed wishes of the German people. He did actually succeed in causing huge strikes both in Austria and in Germany, and it is impossible for anyone to say that he would not have finally succeeded in hitting the Goliath of Force opposed to him fairly between the eyes with this shining pebble of an idea, which was the only weapon at his command, if, at the last moment his aim had not been deflected, and the target shifted, by the treachery of the handful of men who in the Ukraine were resisting by every means in their power the natural development of the Soviets. These men, preferring to sell their country to Germany than to lose the reins of government themselves, opened separate negotiations, thereby breaking the unity of the ideal front which Trotsky opposed to the Germans. The Germans saw that with part of that front they could come immediately to terms. Instantly their tone in the negotiations changed. They persuaded their own people that the Russians were themselves to blame for not getting the peace they required, and that a just peace was possible only with the Ukraine. Meanwhile the soldiers and workers of the Ukraine were gradually obtaining complete power over their own country, so that when Germany actually concluded peace with the Ukraine, the so-called government whose signatures were attached to that treacherous agreement was actually in asylum in German headquarters and unable to return to its own supposed capital except under the protection of German bayonets. The Soviet triumphed in the Ukraine, and declared its solidarity with Russia. The Germans, like the Allies, preferred to recognize the better dressed persons who were ready to conclude peace

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with them in the name of a country which had definitely disowned them. From that moment the Brest peace negotiations were doomed to failure. Trotsky made a last desperate appeal to the workers of Germany. He said, "We will not sign your robber's peace, but we demobilize our army and declare that Russia is no longer at war. Will the German people allow you to advance on a defenseless revolution?"

The Germans did advance, not at first in regular regiments, but in small groups of volunteers who had no scruples in the matter. Many German soldiers, to their eternal honor, refused to advance, and were shot. The demobilization of the Russian army meant little, because it had long ceased to be anything but a danger to the peaceful population in its rear. The Soviet had only the very smallest real force, and that, as yet, unorganized, with enthusiasm but without confidence, utterly unpracticed in warfare, consisting chiefly of workmen, who, as was natural, were the first to understand what it was they had to defend. It soon became clear that serious resistance was impossible. The Soviet government was faced with a choice: to collapse in a quite unequal struggle; or to sign a shameful peace. Many thought that the cause of revolution would be best served by their deaths, and were ready to die. Lenin doubted the efficacy of such a rhetorical gesture, and believed that the secession of Russia from the war would insure the continuation of the war by the imperialistic groups until such time as other countries reached the same exhaustion as had been reached by Russia, when in his opinion, revolution would be inevitable. He held that, for the future of the World Revolution, the best that could be done would be the preservation even in seriously limited territory of the Soviet government, as a nucleus of revolution, as an illustration of the possibility of revolution, until that moment when the workers of Russia should be joined by the workers of the world. His opinion carried the majority, first of the Executive Committee, then of the fourth All-Russian Assembly. The Germans replied to the Russian offer to sign peace with a statement which was an ironic parody of the Russian declaration at Brest: the Russians had said, "We will not sign peace, but the war is ended." The Germans said, "We agree to peace, but the war shall continue."

And, indeed, while the Soviet government moved to Moscow, the Germans using in the south the pretext of the Ukrainian Rada, and in the north that of the bourgeois Finnish Government, advanced through the Ukraine to the outlet of the Don, and in the north to the very gates of Petrograd. The matter stands so, as I write these lines. By the time you read them, much will have happened that it is impossible now to foresee.

The Soviet Government and the Allies

From the moment of the October revolution on, the best illustration of the fact that the Soviet government is the natural government of the Russian people, and has deep roots in the whole of the conscious responsible part of the working classes and the peasantry, has been the attitude of the defeated minorities who oppose it. Whereas the Bolsheviks worked steadily in the Soviets when the majority was against them, and made their final move for power only when assured that they had an overwhelming majority in the Soviets behind them, their opponents see their best hope of regaining power not in the Soviets, not even in Russia itself, but in some extraordinary intervention from without. By asking for foreign help against the Soviet government they prove that such help should not be given, and that they do not deserve it. The Soviet has stood for six months and more, absolutely unshaken by any movement against it inside Russia. In the Ukraine the anti-Soviet minority asked for intervention and received it. German bayonets, German organization, destroyed the Soviets of the Ukraine, and then destroyed the mock government that had invited their help. We, the Allies, supported that anti-Soviet minority, and, in so far as our help was efficacious, contributed our share in obtaining for Germany a victorious progress from one end of the Black Sea coast to the other. In helping the Ukrainian minority we helped the Germans to secure Ukrainian bread and coal and iron that would otherwise have gone to help Russia to recuperate. In Finland we repeated the mistake. We gave at least moral help to the White Finns, simply because they were opposed to the Red Finns, who were supported by the Soviets. Now, too late, we realize that the White Finns were the pawns of Germany, and that in the defeat of the Red Finns we witnessed the defeat of the only party in Finland which was bound, by its socialistic nature, to be an enemy of imperialistic Germany. Do not let us make the same mistake in Russia. If the Allies lend help to any minority that cannot overturn the Soviets without their help, they will be imposing on free Russia a government which will be in perpetual need of external help, and will, for simple reasons of geography, be bound to take that help from Germany. Remember that for the German autocracy, conscious of the socialistic mass beneath it, the mere existence of the Soviet government of Russia is a serious danger. Remember that any non-Soviet government in Russia would be welcomed by Germany and, reciprocally, could not but regard Germany as its protector. Remember that the revolutionary movement in Eastern Europe, no less than the American and British Navies, is an integral part of the Allied blockade of the Central Empires.

And, apart from the immediate business of the war, remember that Germany is seeking by every means, open and secret, to obtain such command over Russia's resources as will in the long run allow her to dictate her will to Russia's people. Remember that the Soviet government, fully aware of this, would be glad of your help, of your cooperation, would be glad even to give you control over some part of her resources, if only to prevent that ominous ultimate dominion within Russia of a single foreign power.

Remember all these things, if indeed you need, as I think you do not need, such selfish motives to prompt you to the support of men who, if they fail, will fail only from having hoped too much. Every true man is in some sort, until his youth dies and his eyes harden, the potential builder of a New Jerusalem. At some time or other, every one of us has dreamed of laying his brick in such a work. And even if this thing that is being builded here with tears and blood is not the golden city that we ourselves have dreamed, it is still a thing to the sympathetic understanding of which each one of us is bound by whatever he owes to his own youth. And if each one of us, then, all the more each nation by what it owes to those first daring days of its existence, when all the world looked askance upon its presumptuous birth. America was young once, and there were men in America who would have brought in foreign aid to reestablish their dominion over a revolted nation. Are those the men to whom America now looks back with gratitude and pride?

Well, writing at a speed to break my pen, and with the knowledge that in a few hours the man leaves Moscow

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who is to carry this letter with him to America, I have failed to say much that I would have said. I write now with my messenger waiting for my manuscript and somehow or other, incoherent, incomplete as it is, must bring it to an end. I will end with a quotation from your own Emerson. "What is the scholar, what is the man *for,* but for hospitality to every new thought of his time? Have you leisure, power, property, friends? you shall be the asylum and patron of every new thought, every unproven opinion, every untried project, which proceeds out of good will and honest seeking. All the newspapers, all the tongues of today will of course at first defame what is noble; but you who hold not of today, not of the Times, but of the Everlasting, are to stand for it; and the highest compliment man ever receives from heaven is the sending to him its disguised and discredited angels." No one contends that the Bolsheviks are angels. I ask only that men shall look through the fog of libel that surrounds them and see that the ideal for which they are struggling, in the only way in which they can struggle, is among those lights which every man of young and honest heart sees before him somewhere on the road, and not among those other lights from which he resolutely turns away. These men who have made the Soviet government in Russia, if they must fail, will fail with clean shields and clean hearts, having striven for an ideal which will live beyond them. Even if they fail, they will none the less have written a page of history more daring than any other which I can remember in the story of the human race. They are writing it amid showers of mud from all the meaner spirits in their country, in yours and in my own. But, when the thing is over, and their enemies have triumphed, the mud will vanish like black magic at noon, and that page will be as white as the snows of Russia, and the writing on it as bright as the gold domes that I used to see glittering in the sun when I looked from my windows in Petrograd.

And when in after years men read that page they will judge your country and mine, your race and mine, by the help or hindrance they gave to the writing of it.

ARTHUR RANSOME.

CORRESPONDENCE

What Kind of Conference?

SIR: It is apparently to be gathered from recent editorial utterances that the New Republic believes an interbelligerent socialist and labor conference on terms of peace to be desirable. Will you not, however, inform your readers what kind of conference it is that you favor? For two kinds have been advocated; and they differ greatly in the nature and gravity of the objections against them. They may, for brevity's sake, be distinguished as a "conditional" and an "unconditional" conference.

By a "conditional" conference I mean one to which delegates from the Central Empires would be admitted only on condition that they first gave evidence of their sincere acceptance of at least the essentials of the Inter-Allied War Aims Memorandum. Those essentials include a demand (a) for the "complete democratization" of Germany, and (b) for the relinquishment by Germany of her African colonies, Prussian Poland and (indirectly but surely) Alsace-Lorraine, and by the Ottoman Empire of the greater part of its dominions. To a *public* conference of this kind the objection—as I have previously pointed out—is not that it would be harmful, but that it is impossible. Its proclaimed purpose would be to bring about the abolition of the existing régime in Germany, and to deprive the German Empire of territories which its government will surrender only after a decisive defeat. No German delegates would be permitted to attend such a meeting so long as the Imperial Government had not already been overthrown—nor so long as the Majority Socialists had not experienced a profound change of heart.

An "unconditional" conference would be one to which delegates from all countries involved in the war would be admitted, either without prior commitment to *any* stated principles of a peace settlement, or without a genuine initial consensus upon the essentials indicated above. For those who do not desire a German peace the objections to this type of conference are plain and decisive:

1. Only persons of a quite hopeless naïveté could suppose that delegates from Germany or Austria would be allowed to attend except with the approval of the Berlin Foreign Office and the General Staff, and for the purpose of furthering their government's aims. The conference would therefore be essentially an opportunity for diplomatic intrigue, the more dangerous because disguised. The German representatives would be busily engaged in attempting to sow dissension between the socialist groups of the several Allied countries and in promoting "separate peace" movements among the pacifist and defeatist elements in each of those countries.

2. In spite of Mr. Henderson's recent encouraging report concerning the attitude of enemy socialists towards the London War Aims Memorandum, it remains exceedingly doubtful whether a majority of the delegates to an unconditional conference could be depended on to support that programme in its integrity—whether, in other words, a majority would be in favor of a declaration that, so long as the Central Empires fail to accept the provisions of the Memorandum with substantial completeness, the Allies will be justified in continuing the war. It appears far more probable that the conference would declare in favor of an immediate peace to be negotiated with the existing government of Germany and Austria on the basis of a compromise between the belligerents, a compromise which would reestablish the status quo ante in the west, and leave Germany and Turkey in possession of most, if not all, of the fruits of the treaty of Brest in the east. If this result were only equally likely, the fact would be a conclusive argument against such a conference.

3. To admit the German Majority Socialists, unrepentant, to a new International would be to condone their betrayal of internationalism in 1914 and of the Russian democracy in 1917, and their practical complicity in the German Government's present policy of spoliation.

4. It is the avowed hope and expectation of many advocates of a conference that it would define terms of peace which all governments would be compelled to accept, on peril of losing the support of organized labor for the further prosecution of the war. Thus Mr. Sidney Webb writes in the New Republic that "if the conference came to any substantial agreement the war would have to stop." This amounts to the cool proposal that (for example) the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

people of the United States shall leave the effectual determination of the peace settlement to a self-constituted body, the American delegates to which would (at most) represent only that small minority of the population consisting of the Socialist Party and the labor unions. Why either the Government or the people of the country should be expected to give this modest enterprise their blessing, it is difficult to imagine; while it is impossible to understand why the settlement of a question of supreme national concern by an irresponsible minority group should be called "democratic." The responsible officers of our Government may imperfectly represent the American people, but they certainly represent it more authoritatively than could delegates drawn, by methods unknown to our political procedure, from a single part of the nation.

Does the New Republic, then, desire a "conditional" or an "unconditional" conference? If the former, does it conceive that such a conference would be possible without a prior defeat or overthrow of the present German government? If the latter, how are the above-mentioned objections to an "unconditional" conference to be met?

ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY.

Baltimore.

[The questions asked by Professor Lovejoy were answered in the editorial comment with which we accompanied the publication of his original letter in our issue of June 15th. We argued in that editorial on behalf of a conditional conference, such as that proposed by the British and French labor parties, and our argument was, in brief, that the calling of a conference, to which all the socialists in all belligerent countries were asked would, no matter whether the Austrian and German Socialists did or did not attend, assist the morale of the wage-earning class in the Allied countries and impair that of the same class in Central Europe.—THE EDITORS.]

Manufactured Science

SIR: In your issue of May 25th there was an article by Robert W. Bruère on Manufactured Science, in which a severe arraignment is made of certain studies published by the National Industrial Conference Board. The writer charges the authors of these reports as revealing "all the elementary characteristics of the shyster lawyer who picks up a precarious living in the police courts"; he also criticises the methods of the investigators and the conclusions of the report. As to the report on strikes I have no special information. But as to the investigation on Hours of Work as Related to Output and to Health of Workers I wish to present the following comment, based on personal knowledge. This knowledge is derived from the fact that I, with two others, Mr. Frederick L. Hoffman and Mr. Howell Cheney, served as an advisory board in drawing up the questionnaire which was used as a basis of the study, and while we were not in any sense the authors of the report, I was acquainted with the progress of the investigation after the adoption of the preliminary plan and saw the proof sheets of the report before final publication.

The immediate author of the report is Mr. Luther Conant, Jr., formerly United States Commissioner of Corporations. I have known Mr. Conant for more than twenty years and welcome this opportunity for public expression of my appreciation of his high ideals, conscientious and unswerving devotion to truth, and his untiring and patient analysis of facts. This appreciation will be endorsed by all who have had the privilege of Mr. Conant's acquaintance. It was because of this acquaintanceship that I consented to serve on the advisory committee. So much for the "shysters" who were responsible for the "Output."

In criticizing the conclusions of the report Mr. Bruère is equally unfortunate and inaccurate. The report on the cotton industry is but one of a series. (See Foreword of the Report.) It will be followed by similar studies of other industries. The "social and citizenship factor" which Mr. Bruère charges is disregarded applies to all industries more or less alike and because it is a matter which cannot be solved by statistical methods it was deemed advisable to defer discussion of it until statistical facts had been assembled for all the various principal industries. The report was immediately concerned with the direct effects of hours of labor on output and on the health of workers in the cotton industry, and for this reason all other questions were intentionally omitted. The report does take account of morbidity data wherever it was able to secure them. It points out, however, that a fundamental difficulty was experienced at the outset, as no satisfactory health records appeared to exist which would permit of comparison of health conditions under different hours of work schedules; and the report pointedly calls attention to the desirability of the keeping of such records by employers.

Turning to the statistical data in the report, Mr. Bruère says:

> Hidden in an appendix, the report prints a table from the U. S. Census Mortality Statistics, 1909, which shows that the death rate from tuberculosis among cotton mill operatives is higher than for all other occupations.

This table in question was neither in an appendix nor "hidden in an appendix" but was a duly numbered table in a conspicuous position on page 52 of the report and introduced under a major caption dealing with mortality statistics.

In the final clause in the paragraph in question Mr. Bruère asserts that a larger percentage of cotton mill operatives "commit suicide, die of apoplexy and paralysis, of cancer, of diseases of the circulatory system, of cirrhosis of the liver and of unclassified and unknown causes than any other group of mechanical employees." This statement is likewise incorrect.

While the percentage of deaths from tuberculosis among cotton mill operatives is comparatively high it is exceeded in several other specific occupations, as data compiled from the U. S. Census of 1909 clearly show. For example, in the case of males the percentage of deaths from tuberculosis among cotton mill operatives to total mortality for age group 25 to 34 was 37.8; for the age group 35 to 44, 27.1; for the age group 45 to 54, 19.4. For woolen mill operatives the respective percentages are 41.7, 35.3 and 16.7; glassworkers, 44.1, 31.8, 23.2; for tool and cutlery makers 40.5, 42.2, and 26.3; for tobacco and cigar workers 49.3, 33.7, and 23.2. (U. S. Mortality Statistics, 1909, pp. 740-746.) Comparisons for females likewise show higher percentages in other occupations than in cotton manufacturing.

Mr. Bruère takes exception to a summary table which appears on page 19 of the report citing statements of manufacturers to the effect that in most cases where hours of work were reduced, the reduction in output per employee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was approximately proportional. He says in this connection:

> Pencil in hand, one looks sharp at the table. On inspection one finds that it is based on the reports not of 70, but of 48 of the 109 northern establishments covered by the investigation, and that these 109 establishments employed only 48 per cent of the total number of workers in the northern mills as given by the U. S. Census of Manufactures for 1914. Upon further inspection of the data supporting the table one finds that in only 17, or at the most 19, of these 48 establishments was the reduction in output actually proportionate to the reduction in hours.

How Mr. Bruère arrives at the statement that the table is based on only 48 of 109 establishments is not apparent. That the establishments included but 48 per cent of the total number of workers as reported in the Census, far from being a reflection on the report, is really a commendation, since so large a percentage would be ample for statistical purposes. The only important statement in this paragraph is the one to the effect that "in only 17, or at most 19, of these 48 establishments was the reduction in output actually proportionate to the reduction in hours." A very careful summary of the Appendix table at the back of the report shows that of 64 concerns which reported that output was decreased when hours were reduced, 32, or one-half, stated that the reduction in output was either proportional to the reduction in hours, approximately so, or more than proportional. In addition, I have since been informed that 7 more of these 64 concerns stated by letter that the reduction in output was either proportional to the reduction in hours or approximately so, making 39 out of 64, or well over a clear majority.

Whether the majority stating that the decrease in output was proportional to the reduction in hours is large or small is immaterial since all these statements of manufacturers are of secondary importance as compared with the convincing array of statistics published in the report which show in repeated instances a reduction in output approximately proportional to the reduction in hours of work.

As evidence of the absence of any disposition on the part of the report to overstate the case it may be pointed out that, in spite of the convincing nature of the evidence, on page 42, the following caution is noted:

> Because it is impossible to isolate completely the effects of changes of hours, no one of these comparisons would by itself warrant general conclusions. The agreement in results for so many establishments, however, leaves no doubt that the reduction in output shown was due, at least in part, to the shortening of hours.

Apart, however, from the strict accuracy of the statistical conclusions, though these are of prime importance, it is difficult to understand why so bitter an attempt should be made to discredit the report on the implied ground that it is a defense of existing conditions in the cotton industry. To my mind it is a noteworthy fact that a board of men made up of manufacturers stands behind a report which says "that for certain causes the death rate among cotton mill workers is higher than among industrial workers in general" (Report, page 52); that quotes a conclusion of the special investigation of the United States Bureau of Labor in regard to the causes of death in certain cotton mills in New England with the conclusion that "facts indicate a high death rate from tuberculosis among female operatives in cotton mills" (p. 53); and also includes the findings of Mr. Frederick L. Hoffman to the effect that the "mortality rate from tuberculosis among cotton mill workers and among textile workers in general was excessive" (p. 54).

The spirit of the report throughout is evidence of fair-mindedness and should be accepted as an omen of a desire to improve conditions rather than as an apology for existing conditions. At some point the reduction in hours must bring about a decrease in output. Intelligent workmen recognize this. Further progress to secure reduction to a point at which all the ideals of life, maximum reward in wages, health, and enjoyment of leisure may be realized demands that a sincere effort be made to determine this relationship; and all workers for social reform should welcome the attempt made in this investigation.

DAVIS R. DEWEY.

Cambridge, Mass.

[It is to be regretted that in undertaking to censor my article Professor Dewey should have to admit that he has "no special information" as to one of the two reports with which my article dealt and that he has neglected to make a careful analysis of the statistical data upon which the second bases the most sweeping of its "scientific" conclusions. Since Professor Dewey has no special information as to the National Industrial Conference Board's Report on Strikes in American Industry in Wartime nothing further need be said on that score. When it comes to my analysis of the statistical table upon which the report on Hours of Work as Related to Output and Health of Workers bases its sweeping conclusion that there is "striking unanimity of opinion among cotton manufacturers that reduction of two or three hours to 54 or 55 per week in the cotton manufacturing industry has involved an approximately proportional reduction in output," Professor Dewey says: "How Mr. Bruère arrives at the statement that the 'table' is based on only 48 of 109 establishments is not apparent," etc. I can attribute Professor Dewey's difficulty only to his failure to make a sufficiently thorough analysis of that table and the statistical data upon which the accompanying sweeping conclusion is based.

These statistical data are printed on pages 59 to 64 of the report. They show that the establishments in which there was a "reduction of two or three hours to 54 or 55 per week" strictly number 46; or, if in generosity we include two further cases where the previous number of working hours is not given, 48. Of the forty-six 16, and of the forty-eight 18 establishments report an "approximately proportional reduction in output." In one other case the proportional decrease in output applies only to time workers. As mill production is measured by loom production, and as weavers are almost always paid by the piece, this case might fairly have been eliminated. To give the anonymous authors of the report the benefit of the doubt, I included it in my outside figure 19. In five other cases, costs increase in proportion to reduction in hours, but it is not clear from the statements that output showed a proportional decrease. These cases I excluded.

Here then is what the "striking unanimity of opinion among cotton manufacturers" upon the central subject of the report comes to. The report as a whole is based upon the investigation by schedule or personal visit of 172 establishments, 115 of which were in the North and 57 in the South. Of these 172 establishments—probably less than a majority of the present total in the country—48 reported "reductions of two or three hours to 54 or 55 per week" and of these 48 only 19 at the outside reported an "ap-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

proximately proportional reduction in output." Would Professor Dewey contend that this is scientific evidence of "striking unanimity of opinion?" And yet the anonymous authors of the report announce in the Foreword that the purpose of their investigation was "to establish the facts of this controversial subject and to present such conclusions as are *clearly warranted by a scientific analysis of these established facts*"!

With respect to one statement, I plead guilty to Professor Dewey's charge of inaccuracy. I was wrong in describing the section of the report in which Table 16 occurs as "an appendix." The table appears late in the report; but it is not in an appendix. But that table itself supplies the data upon which I based my statement that the death rate from tuberculosis, suicide, apoplexy and paralysis, cancer, diseases of the circulatory system, cirrhosis of the liver and unclassified and unknown causes is higher among cotton mill operatives than for all other occupations. In commenting upon the statistics contained in this table, the anonymous authors of the report themselves said: "From this table it appears that for certain leading causes the death rate among cotton mill workers is higher than it is among the industrial population in general. It is especially to be noticed that the percentage of deaths from tuberculosis of the lungs was relatively higher in almost every instance for cotton mill operatives than the combined average for workers in all manufacturing and mechanical industries combined." The supplemental data now advanced by Professor Dewey do not appear in the report and in no way invalidate the essential accuracy of my statement nor that of the authors of the report of whose statement mine is a manifest paraphrase.

Professor Dewey says that "the spirit of the report throughout is evidence of fairmindedness and should be accepted as an omen of a desire to improve conditions rather than an apology for existing conditions." I wish I had been able to agree with Professor Dewey in this generous interpretation. If Professor Dewey will read the report again and especially if he reads it in connection with the National Industrial Conference Board's Analysis of British Wartime Reports on Hours of Work as Related to Output and Fatigue, I think he will discover that the true omen of this report is not to improve conditions, but to establish an argument against further legislative interference with the hours of employment of women. Why does the report so consistently belittle the significance of the evidence supplied by the manufacturers who by enlightened improvements in equipment and management were able to maintain output in face of a reduction of hours? Why does the report so consistently attempt to demonstrate that existing legislative restrictions on hours in the North have necessarily diminished output and that any further reduction of hours in the South below the prevailing 60 hour week would not only reduce output but also increase the price of cotton goods to the consumer? Why does the report so sedulously convey the impression that output is the only legitimate test of the value of such social legislation as that which seeks to protect the childbearers of the nation from the destructive effects of excessively fatiguing toil?

Professor Dewey says that what he calls the "social and citizenship factor" is a matter "which cannot be solved by statistical methods." What of the infant mortality records in the principal cotton manufacturing centres of the North? What of the morbidity records of the health departments in these centers? What of the records of literacy, school attendance, juvenile delinquency, crime? Surely if the authors of this report had been seriously interested in this side of their problem they need not have placed such large dependence upon the records of a U. S. Census that is now almost ten years old. The technique of investigation into these subjects has made great progress in the last decade and is as highly developed as any in the entire field of social research.

Professor Dewey says that the "report does take account of morbidity data wherever it was possible to secure them." If he had said "wherever it was possible to secure them from the stock reference material in a general library" his statement would have been more nearly accurate. To secure really significant data would have required a certain amount of expert field work as well as a thorough examination of more data than can readily be obtained by the use of postage stamps. But the avowed purpose of the report was to "establish the facts of this controversial subject and to present such conclusions as are clearly warranted by a scientific analysis of the established facts." To say that the securing of the essential data would have required time and labor is no valid excuse for the manifest failure of the authors of the report to make any effort to secure them beyond the very moderate use of scissors and paste pot. Similarly, had the authors of the report been as eager to get at the facts regarding the "social and citizenship factor"—the effect of fatigue upon the health of the workers as human beings and citizens—as they were in attempting to stretch their pathetically meagre evidence to show that legislative restrictions upon the working hours of women invariably reduce output and increase the cost of cotton goods to the consumer, they might easily have secured far more substantial data on this subject even by sending a questionnaire to the health officers, district nurses, truancy and probation officers, social settlement workers, etc., in the principal cotton manufacturing centres in the North especially, than they actually secured from the cotton manufacturers themselves in the matter of the proportional reduction of output where hours had been reduced.

After re-reading the report of the National Industrial Conference Board on Hours of Work as Related to Output and Health of Workers in the light of Professor Dewey's communication, I am confirmed in my original conclusion that it in no sense sustains its professed devotion to scientific accuracy or disinterestedness; that it is special pleading under the guise of a professed scientific investigation and analysis—special pleading of a peculiarly insidious kind.—ROBERT W. BRUÈRE.]

The Borland Amendment

SIR: In your issue of July 6th, page 279, are you right in saying the "Borland-Amendment . . . gave an additional $120 a year to all Federal employees" up to the $2500 scale?

It is the general understanding in Washington that his legislative proposal as included in the bill vetoed by the President dealt only with increase of hours of the day's work from seven to eight. If this is wrong I hope you can spare the time to correct me.

C. MERIWETHER.

Washington, D. C.

[The correspondent is not quoting the editorial correctly. The New Republic did not say that "the amendment" gave this addition. We said that the Appropriation Bill gave the addition. If Mr. Meriwether will re-read the article he will see that the error is not ours.—THE EDITORS.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

War Aviators

High Adventure, a narrative of air fighting in France, by James Norman Hall. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. $1.50.

Winged Warfare, by William A. Bishop. New York: G. H. Doran Co. $1.50.

NO book brings home the real meaning of "groundling" like an aviator's. The aviator does more than defy gravity. He defies space. He swings with superb ease across land and water, state and frontier. The air is not merely a new medium to him, it is a medium that yields completely to conquest, giving its master lordship of vision, distance, speed. There never has been such an instrument of bodily independence as the airplane, and never such a time to develop it as this time of war.

It is no discredit to Captain James Norman Hall that High Adventure is primarily a book of the airplane. The author makes a definite impression with his account of fighting, both in regard to fighting German airplanes and in attacking sausage balloons, but his really radiant accomplishment is his account of learning to fly and learning to fight. He started without any unusual qualification. "Drew," the other American whom he linked up with in Paris in 1916, "had never been farther from the ground than the top of the Woolworth building. I had once taken a trip in a captive balloon. Drew knew nothing of motors, and had no more knowledge of mechanics than would enable him to wind a watch without breaking the mainspring. My ignorance in this respect was fair match for his. We were further handicapped for the French service by our lack of the language." Still, they had the idea in September, 1916, of enlisting for France, and they went ahead, family portmanteaus and all, and entered the Franco-American corps. From that on to their first patrol Hall and Drew are brave fledgings in the new great empire of man.

The conversion of schoolmaster and young lawyer into aviators is told with the most charming modesty and sincerity. The novice at flying has to make his mistakes, the same in kind as the young newspaper reporter's or the telephone girl's, but much more terrible in degree. Indeed, if you took all the first emotions of diving, making a speech, having your teeth drilled, working for an office despot, lumped and rolled all these terrors and apprehensions together, the extract would have only a faint flavor of the thrilling anxiety that the imaginative youth experiences when he begins to fly. It is the extreme virtue of High Adventure that this anxiety is duly communicated, as well as the glory and exhilaration of making good. "I had never flown so high before. 'Over a mile,' I thought. It seemed a tremendous altitude. I could see scores of villages and fine old châteaux, and great stretches of forest, and miles upon miles of open country in checkered patterns, just beginning to show the first fresh green of the early spring crops. It looked like a world planned and laid out by the best of Santa Clauses for the eternal delight of all good children. And for untold generations only the birds have had the privilege of seeing and enjoying it from the wing. Small wonder that they sing. As for non-musical birds—well, they all sing after a fashion, and there is no doubt that crows, at least, are extremely jealous of their prerogative of flight." An enveloping April cloud succeeds this revery and brings Captain Hall an entirely different mood, not untouched by panic. A quick landing barely escapes accident. It is a landing on the side of a hill. "Very soon I heard a shrill, jubilant shout. A boy of eight or ten years was running along the ridge as fast as he could go. Outlined against the sky, he reminded me of silhouettes I had seen in Paris shops, of children dancing, the very embodiment of joy in movement. He turned and waved to some one behind. . . ." I quote this passage to show Captain Hall's quality of observation. His jocund day stands tiptoe for many such glimpses of beauty, glimpses out and beyond the burning heart of war.

His "first patrol" at the front is a lesson in the enormous difficulty and complexity of air-fighting. To be seen and not to see is often an aviator's fortune, or misfortune, and nothing is easier than to lose one's squadron and be left lone as the ancient mariner. Both Hall and Drew had to stand being chaffed after the first patrol. "'You should have seen them following us down!' said Porter; 'like two old rheumatics going into the subway. We saw them both when we were taking height again. The scrap was all over hours before, and they were still a thousand metres away.' 'You want to dive vertically. Needn't worry about your old 'bus. She'll stand it.' 'Well, the Lord has certainly protected the innocent today!' 'One of them was wandering off into Germany, Bill had to waggle Miller to page him.'"

The difference between Captain Hall and Major Bishop, V. C., D. S. O., M. C., is perhaps best shown in their respective comments on flying low and spraying the enemy with bullets. The essentially kindly Hall remarks, "There is a good deal of excitement in an expedition of this kind, and soldiers themselves say that surprise sorties from the air have a demoralizing effect upon troops. But as a form of sport, there is little to be said for it. It is too unfair. For this reason, among others, I was glad when Davis turned homeward.'" Major Bishop's tone is utterly different. "It is great fun to fly very low along the German trenches and give them a burst of machine-gun bullets as a greeting in the morning, or a good-night salute in the evening. They don't like it a bit. But we love it; we love to see the Kaiser's proud Prussians run for cover like so many rats."

Bishop's book is fascinatingly unlike Hall's. In Hall's case you have a man truly interested in his companions, humane, sensitive, many-sided. In Bishop you have a magnificent fighter concentrated on the business of fighting, extremely clear and intelligent about his technique, sincere and suggestive about his experiences as an aviator ("Night-flying is a fearsome thing—but tremendously interesting. Any one who has ever been swimming at night will appreciate what I mean"), interested in painting pigs or teasing ducks for sport with his companions but really living in the intoxicating sport of killing "Huns." The courage and ferocity of this young man are made perfectly clear in his narrative of one terrifying duel after another. One clutches the chair to keep from slipping in reading these accounts of mid-air manœuvre and manslaughter. Two miles up, in the vacant smile of infinite space, most of these breathless victories are earned; sometimes from a single enemy, sometimes from enemies in lairs, sometimes from squadrons that swerve and swoop and swirl for nearly an hour on end, flashing as fast as bullets can rip. In those encounters there is no coolness more deadly than this coolness of Bishop's. "Every time your opponent attempts to dive at you, or attack you in any way, the best thing to do is to turn on him, pull the nose of your machine up and fire. Often while fighting it is necessary to attack a machine head on until you seem to be just about to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

crash in mid-air. Neither machine wants to give way, and collisions have been known to occur while doing this. We prided ourselves that we hardly ever gave way, and the German was usually the first to swerve. At the last moment one of you must dodge up and the other down, and there is great risk of both of you doing the same thing, which, of course, is fatal. It is perhaps one of the most thrilling moments in fighting in the air when you are only 100 yards apart, and coming together at colossal speed, spouting bullets at each other as fast as you can." Quite a thrilling moment, beyond doubt, if one is made of adamant. A lesser substance would immediately thrill into every known variety of soup.

The combative emotions are chronicled with extreme frankness by this hard, handsome Canadian youth. "Just after it passed I looked back over my shoulder and saw it burst into flames. A second later it fell a burning mass, leaving a long trail of smoke behind as it disappeared through the clouds. I thought for a moment of the fate of the wounded observer and the hooded pilot into whose faces I had just been looking—but it was fair hunting, and I flew away with great contentment in my heart." Major Bishop describes his avidity for fighting. "The more I flew the more I wanted to fly." His ambition was to emulate Captain Ball and it infuriated him to miss a German. "He landed in a field underneath me. To see him calmly alight there under perfect control filled me with a towering rage. I saw red things before my eyes. I vowed an eternal vendetta against all the Hun two-seaters in the world, and, the impulse suddenly seizing me, I dived right down to within a few feet of the ground, firing a stream of bullets into the machine where it was sitting. I had the satisfaction of knowing that the pilot and observer must have been hit, or nearly scared to death. . . ." "The sight of the 'sausage' filled me with one of those hot bursts of rage." "I began to feel that my list of victims was not climbing as steadily as I would have liked. Captain Ball was back from a winter rest in England and was adding constantly to his already big score. . . . I had had some hard fighting. Now I wanted to shoot a 'rabbit' or two." "He crashed in the most satisfactory manner. I turned and flew south, feeling very much better." "It is discouraging work, and very aggravating, to chase machines that will not fight. For my part, I find that I get in a tremendous temper and am apt to run unnecessary risks when I meet another enemy."

The Bishop book is one of the most amazing accounts of personal bravery ever written. The lone-handed attack on a German aerodrome is an adventure almost by itself in the history of fighting. But one gets a little tired of the simple slaughterous encounters on which the book is concentrated. It becomes big game shooting of the most dangerous kind. One admires Major Bishop, his unsurpassed bravery, his adamant nerve, his cool and pliant will. One admires him, and rejoices that he is not a maleficent German. One likes and admires Captain Hall. The artist in Captain Hall, making a rich book of High Adventure, diffuses the will that is burnished to a single spearhead in Major Bishop. It is to actual warfare, not to life or his account of it, that Major Bishop has applied "the gay celerities of art." "Thank heaven for that," says the anxious non-combatant. Amen; but we are dealing with literature. When the fighters become writers they must be judged as writers, and the Bishops are not their own best chroniclers. This heroic bird of prey is not self-understood.

F. H.

Governing the Workshop

Works Committees. Report by the Ministry of Labour. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 6d.

IT is far too little realized how great literature lies buried in government reports. A man who knew something of the significance of contrast and perspective could make an epic from the volumes of evidence given before any important royal commission; there would be unforgetable incidents and phrases before which literary realism would seem both dry and cold. Nor is their scientific interest less astounding. Anyone who reads a report like that on local taxation by Sir Edward Hamilton will know at once what is the secret of the success attained by the English civil service. It is the same with the parliamentary debates. The half-conscious interruption, the places at which the applause is to be found, the arguments selected by the speakers as significant, these and things like these are the signpost of an age. To read an account of a bill in committee is like talking to an actor in his dressing-room. The paint is off, and you see the process by means of which he can strut in lordly fashion upon the stage. There is no better key to the political character of a minister than his conduct under such conditions. The superb imperturbability of Mr. Asquith, the eager almost irritable anxiety of Mr. Lloyd George, the half-admitted sense of a glorious game well played in Mr. Birrell—these are the vital secrets revealed to the reader who will search them out. The real Mr. Gladstone emerges far more truly from the cut and thrust of question time than from the half-dozen great speeches unknown to every schoolboy.

This report is in the great tradition. It is interesting enough to make its anonymity a source of constant irritation. You keep on ceaselessly asking who has this subtle insight, this power of measuring the half-unseen, this wise calm, and this sense of the inner things of which all government is made. It deals, of course, with one of the big problems of our time and it etches its conditions in a fashion not unworthy of its bigness. It is really an account of an approximation to that representative government in industry which, in England at least, the war has made sooner or later inevitable. The works committee is a mechanism for the conveyance of ideas between management and workers. With all its limitations, it seems to have proved a successful mechanism. Whether it is a directly appointed body, whether it represents the organized voice of the shop-stewards, it is the kind of collective organization which, in its working, shows the impossibility of leaving industrial processes to be settled by any system, or lack of system, of individual bargaining. The committees cover a wide range of problems—recreation, dilution, social welfare, time-keeping. They seem, on the whole, to function better where the material with which they deal is directly related to the character of the industry than when they attempt to reach outside into the non-industrial life of the worker. They raise, and it is here that the report has its special value, all the normal problems of government. Ought election to be open or by ballot? Ought the committee to meet regularly, or as occasion demands? Ought it to have immediate access to the management as a member has immediate access to a minister? What is the ideal number for a committee? Ought their proceedings to be secret or open? What is the area of problems they should traverse? Above all, what is their relation to the trade-unions, on the one hand, and that system envisaged by the Whitley Report, on the other?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Upon all these problems the Report touches, and it rarely touches without wisdom. What is therein chiefly impressive is its realization that the best approach to all these problems is psychological. It throughout emphasizes the value of relating the worker's interest to the factory by the democratization of control; there is, for example, an impressive account of a group of pattern-workers who were able to avoid dilution by persuading the firm to increase the equipment and thus to extend the output by fifty per cent. It becomes obvious how much depends, on both sides, upon the attitude assumed. An unapproachable manager, a foreman with an undue sense of his position, a shop-steward who is convinced that his "right of entry" will, if firmly pressed, break down the capitalistic control of industry, these are the types who make for an unnecessary disharmony of relations. Even one who is convinced that there is no real rapprochement possible between capital and labor will admit the need of so reducing disharmony as to precipitate strikes upon the real issues, and the works committee is of value to that end.

Not, of course, as the Report freely admits, that the committee is without its dangers. There are charges of victimization where members of the committee are active in the redress of grievances; and a skilful employer could easily, if he set about it in the right way, convert a valuable instrument into an industrial anaesthetic. There is, too, the danger lest it be used to supplant the basic control of the trade-unions of which it is, properly speaking, a functional area; anyone who has examined the "personal" unions of the Colorado miners will realize how useless they are for any serious purpose. No industrial decentralization can, so far as the workers are concerned, afford to go so far as to avoid the interconnection which emphasizes essential solidarity of interest. Organization by factions is admirable so long as it is constantly remembered that the factory is only a unit in a larger structure. Here, of course, is the opportunity of the trade-unions; but they will need to watch carefully that organization by separate factories is not used for their disintegration.

What, perhaps above all, is valuably evident in this Report is the ultimate dependence of this, as of every mechanism, on the spirit in which it is operated. A manager, for instance, who distrusts the experiment because "any amount of friction would ensue" (p. 123) had far better leave the experiment alone; his words imply a disbelief in the elementary terms of representative government, and the only thing to do is by ceaseless fighting to work out a plan for his destruction. Managements, the Report clearly shows, will have to develop a far wider sense that the business of these committees is a part of industrial government. They will have no permanent value, for either side, so long as their functions are confined to the making of representations. It is very clear that they must come to possess an intermediate economic sovereignty, that they must receive acceptance of their demands, not of grace but of right. The largest question, of course, still remains, which is the general question of the way in which industry is to be governed. Here, despite distrust and maleficent purpose, there seems no real question that the Whitley Committee has built the path along which we can travel to an ultimate democratization. No one, of course, doubts that there will be mistakes, and only the stupid will refuse to believe that there will often enough be deliberate perversions. But once the right of the worker to the control of industrial processes is admitted—and it must be emphasized that nothing less is implied in the Whitley Report—a vigorous trade-unionism may be trusted to enforce the obvious implications. It should yet be insisted that the labor leaders have, on their side, to understand, as men like Mr. Henderson and Mr. Webb have so clearly understood, that in this trade-unionism there be the germs of the future state.

H. J. L.

The Choice Before Us

The Choice Before Us, by G. Lowes Dickinson. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. $2.00.

MR. G. LOWES DICKINSON'S words in the preface to the American edition of The Choice Before Us, pertinent when he wrote them, are more pertinent today. "The shallow objection that a nation at war must not think about the object of the war, but only about the waging of it, will be far from a nation that is at war only to establish peace."

Mr. Dickinson summarily dismisses the belief that a warless world and a defeated Germany are synonymous. "I argue," he writes, "that war proceeds from wrong ideas and wrong policies; that in these ideas and policies all nations have been implicated; and that this war will have been fought in vain unless it leads to a change of attitude in all governments and all peoples. This change, I agree, is most required in Germany, and may be most difficult to effect there. But there are, in all countries, traditions, prejudices, and illusions making for war, and it is these that I endeavor to expose."

The most dominant of these illusions are the conception of the states as a super-personality, the theory of inevitable expansion of states, the traditional belief in a necessary increase in population, and the conviction that economic competition implies national rivalry. Mr. Dickinson subjects these conceptions to a searching analysis. They lead to the conclusion that war is inevitable. While German thinkers have most brazenly idolized the state, the fallacy is not peculiar to them. Multitudes in all countries speak of the state in its foreign relations as though it were an entity distinct from its inhabitants. In domestic politics governments have become recognized as instruments for realizing the welfare of the citizen; but let the reader "substitute, in anything he may read on this subject, for the names of states—England, Germany, France—the names of the corresponding peoples—the English, the Germans, the French. Let him then endeavor to form some concrete image of all the varieties of classes and individuals, professions, occupations, interests, which those names aim at designating. Let him next ask himself precisely who, of all these, is being benefited or injured by the policy that is being discussed; and he will, I think, quickly come to the conclusion that his authors are not thinking of men and women at all. They are thinking of words, like power, or prestige, or empire." Peculiarly vicious results follow upon this error. People are controlled by passion more than by reason. Abstract words and phrases arouse the emotions, and "it thus becomes possible for men to sacrifice everything they have to causes which have no bearing on their real interests, whether material, moral, or spiritual."

This failure to think in terms of concrete persons and interests gives rise to a confusion of thought in which men identify competition between the capitalistic groups of two or more countries with a contest between the nations themselves. When it effects this identification a people willingly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sets up restrictions upon trade which both profit one set of interests within a state at the expense of all others, and leads to international complications. In several chapters remarkable for a combination of profound thinking and lucidity of style Mr. Dickinson tests the traditional theories and policies of national expansion, increase in population, and competition of national economic interests by reference to their bearing upon the welfare and interests of the individual citizen. They are plans of action which served a purpose in an historical setting foreign to present needs. They persist as ideas which obstruct clear international thinking, and they must be removed from the minds of men as a first essential of a world organization making for peace.

But Mr. Dickinson goes deeper than this. The war has strengthened forces in the western democracies which endanger civilization itself. Already in England and the United States we have demands for the introduction of a permanent system of compulsory and universal military training. The institution of conscription necessitates the existence of an intellectually trained military class whose influence—sustained and augmented by the many interests which profit directly and indirectly from a military establishment—would exert a transforming influence upon democratic ideals. Conscription destroys individualism, for it is a compulsory direction of the activities of men without reference to their aptitudes and desires. Preparedness for war means also the adoption of a religion which glorifies the complete sacrifice of individual desires for ends too vague for definition, and which reconciles Christian principles with warfare; it requires an educational system which dogmatically impresses upon the student the ideals of life and eliminates independence of thought and judgment; and it demands an ethics which emphasizes a military code of morality in preference to the gentler virtues, and repression as over against the spontaneous expression of creative impulses. If we would avoid a blind entrance into this militaristic future we must bring into relief the implications of militarism.

In a splendid chapter on militarist and pacifist ideals, Dickinson contrasts these two views of life. Taken at extremes, the pacifist and the militarist have no common ground. They differ in their conception of human nature. They differ in their estimation of the basic purposes of education. They hold antagonistic religious views. They idealize totally different structures of human society. If we have little faith in the possibilities of human nature, if we believe in the submission to authority which roots out creative and voluntary activities for the sake of "discipline," if we prefer an efficient rule by the capable few to a more cumbersome democracy, we shall yield to the impending military system. But if we believe that human nature most truly realizes itself in creative social work, science, speculation and art, which presupposes "a contest of free spirit in which each stimulates the other by the very difference of his aims;" if we desire a social order in which authority and compulsion shall be progressively replaced by an enlarging sphere of cooperative activities; and do we refuse to admit that war is inevitable, we must create out of the present war an international organization which shall end war and thus insure a normal development of human potentialities. The Choice Before Us is not to diminish the zeal of the Allies in prosecuting the present war. It is simply and solely to determine which of these philosophies shall mould the future world order.

In part two Mr. Dickinson discusses the fundamentals of an effective international organization. Throughout he distinguishes between the ideal and the feasible. Could a magic wand dismiss the most imminent cause of war, or could people be relied upon to follow reason rather than passion, armaments, both military and naval, would be abolished. But the problem is not thus easily solved. For armed security another security must be substituted, whose gradual establishment will eliminate armaments, fear, suspicion and secrecy, the mutual interacting incitements to war.

The first condition, however, is the desire on the part of statesmen to establish a permanent peace. Given this desire, what arrangements are practicable? Mr. Dickinson answers this question in five chapters dealing with the constitution of a League of Nations, The Sanction to the Treaty, International Regulation, Democratic Control, and The League and the Settlement. An armed peace will be avoided only by including the Central Powers, but he does not believe it essential that the League shall include all nations. A limited League consisting of the great powers might legislate with less difficulty than one which embraced all states. The legislation of such a League could be submitted to the Hague Conference with a prestige that might insure a general adoption.

The primary purpose of the League is to keep the peace. A general agreement in the direction of treaties already existing between the United States and some thirty countries constitutes the first step. These provide for an investigation of all disputes by a permanent international Council. A further step will be taken when, in the case of "justiciable" disputes, nations bind themselves to submit to the decisions of an international court. Mr. Dick-

TIFFANY & CO.
JEWELERS SILVERSMITHS STATIONERS

THE MAIL SERVICE
GIVES PROMPT ATTENTION
TO ALL INQUIRIES

FIFTH AVENUE AND 37TH STREET
NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

inson approves the proposal of the British League of Nations Society and the American League to Enforce Peace to the effect that "non-justiciable" disputes be referred to a Council appointed by the League, to investigate the questions at issue. The Council should be composed of representatives of the great social forces and interests, particularly labor, in preference to diplomats. The published report of this Council would appeal to the public opinion of the world.

What sanction shall perpetuate the international arrangement? Already the United States and the Allied Governments are committed to some forceful procedure on the part of the League. Force might be exerted against a faithless member of the League or against an outside Power which refused to utilize the machinery of the League. An effective preliminary step would be an economic boycott involving "an embargo on the trade of the offender, a refusal of loans, an interruption of postal, telegraphic, telephonic, and wireless communications, a prohibition of all payments to the recalcitrant state, and of all passenger traffic to or from the same: in short, the whole set of measures which are applied, when possible, in war, except the use of force."

The proposed League should possess administrative machinery. In a chapter on International Regulation Mr. Dickinson reveals the inadequacies of the present Hague Conference and suggests a further extension of international administrative functions already in existence. He also outlines in considerable detail matters requiring legislative action. A stereotyped organization of the world does not insure peace. Regular meetings of the League for purposes of legislation will obviate this difficulty. While complete and immediate free trade between nations may not be hoped for, "the nations should recognize the broad and obvious truth that trade benefits all the parties concerned; should remove, as far as possible, and as quickly as possible, the artificial hindrances introduced by false conceptions of national interests; should provide, so far as that can be done by regulation, against trading methods generally recognized as unfair; and should do all this by international arrangements which shall be absolutely impartial as between different nations." This provides an Open Door into all countries and all dependencies and colonies. Legislation should insure free trade routes across the territory of independent states. And "it should also be laid down that no secret treaty is binding on either party or will obtain recognition before an international authority. With this object there should be opened an international register of treaties and those only be recognized which are inscribed in it."

The author's constructive proposals are therefore not the dreams of a visionary. In part they are the completion of a structure whose foundations have already been laid, and in part new but concrete suggestions to meet the needs of an altered world.

I have confined myself to the most important suggestions which Mr. Dickinson offers as a solution of the present world problem. I hope I have emphasized the seriousness of this problem, as he sees it, and the value of his book in the present crisis. Its emphasis is upon the future; but the construction of the future should be the primary concern of a people whose war aims are the creation of a new world order. It is more than an ephemeral book of the day. In style, in intensity of emotion, and in range of thought it will serve as a stimulus for progressive thinking long after it has accomplished its immediate purpose.

U. T. Thayer.

Poets Unmasqued

The Masque of Poets, a collection of New Poems by contemporary American Poets; edited by Edward J. O'Brien. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.25.

THE authors of the anonymous poems, printed by the Bookman last winter, are revealed in this volume. There were thirty-five of them, some of them several times represented. Some are well known and some — to the present writer at least — quite unfamiliar. That the work of the unknown seems here quite as interesting as that of the well known, argues the success of the experiment. Any such device is worth trying, and trying again, if haply it may jar open our leaden eyelids. We are bemused by our multitudes and wild gods go by us unnoticed.

In poetry it is not the wildness but the divinity that matters; new notes sometimes sound wild, sometimes not, but only power and beauty and the electric touch really matter. The century is in its spring, and if all is not right with the world—far from it—still, it is spring, and poetry is as natural a thing as a green leaf.

It is impossible to masque Edwin Arlington Robinson. There is none like him, even in the not especially Robinsonian dialogue of Genevieve and Alexandra. He makes others in such community seem a little pallid and unsubstantial. Yet a prayer to some Parnassian shrine would be pertinent, that his Browningisms may not increase, and that he grow not "precious" in crabbedness, but set free his melody.

After Robinson's the most curiously searching intelligence that the collection displays would seem to be John Gould Fletcher's. "Rooms" is significant and original thinking in defense of four walls, where most significant thinking is done. "Seek God not in the forest but the cell" may be less grandiose than "The woods are God's first temples," but it drives at a more efficient nerve centre.

If Maxwell Bodenheim should write East River anthologies, one feels that they would be more poignantly phrased than those from Spoon River, certainly if he could maintain the quality of:

"An old woman rubs her eyes, as though she were stroking children back to life."

"A little hunchback girl straightens her back with a slow-pulling smile."

"Why are your eyes like dry brown flower-pods,
Still, gripped by the memory of lost petals."

Christopher Morley's Smells is not notable for its artistry, not felicitous in phrasing at all, but is straightforward revision of realities. It is like a breath of fresh spring air, after stale indoors, to meet with a praise of smells that are not odors of spring flowers, nor of jasmine or rose, nor any perfume from Araby, but of coffee freshly ground, fried onions, a fumy pipe, ripe apples and printer's ink on leaden type, camp fire smoke, camphor, turpentine and tea — and best of all, the smell of a ship.

Sarah H. Cleghorn's Alexandra is of the competent, effective kind of thing, not magic but success. It carries across. It infects one with the admiration that inspired it. It leaves one converted to Alexandra, a flushed enthusiast about Alexandra. The conversion is made as much by the rhythm as by hearing her called "robust and tender — gallant and gracious," and her "heart as wide as heaven and warm as home." These are good words, but after all it is the rush of the rhythm that carries the enthusiasm across.

On the other hand Vincent O'Sullivan has magic.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There is a mystery about the Mystery Hills, a nameless ache in Exiles, and in He Sings Because his Wife has gone out of the House a something said without saying it, a simplicity that is not simple —

"The broken things, the broken things,
That will not let me be,"

a rhythm that lingers, hesitates, searches and follows. After all it may be that, on consideration enough, one would find these the best work in the collection. A. C.

A War Surgeon Speaks

A Surgeon in Arms, by Robert J. Manion. New York: D. Appleton & Co. $1.50

ALMOST every branch of the service except the medical corps has written itself up—something of functions and duties, a little of exploits and a great deal of humor and jest. The surgical silence has now been broken by Captain Manion of the Canadian Medical Corps who, though officially a noncombatant, has won the Military Cross for conspicuous bravery under fire.

Captain Manion's story is not thrilling, but it is an interesting one which he tells in a competent way, from the complicated preparations for the Big Push to the efficacy of castor oil in reducing the sick parade. The book has many facts comforting to the people at home, for it relates in detail the handling of the wounded from the moment a man is hit until he is at last in the long desired Blighty. There are also many stories told of that life in the trenches of which we, who must stay at home, can never hear enough. One of the most interesting chapters is on trench slang, some of which has not before reached this side of the Atlantic.

One thinks of Dr. Manion as what the feminine half of the world call an "awfully nice person." And he *is* nice, from start to finish. There is nothing subtle about him, no overtones, no nuances; he is a straightforward, honest-to-God man telling a plain, straightforward tale very well. His phrasing is often not only unoriginal, but even hackneyed, and some of his emotions are the same, but in an entirely able, agreeable, and uninspired way he has turned the search-light on a part of the service which can never be rated too high.

Contributors

to this Issue

WILLIAM HARD.

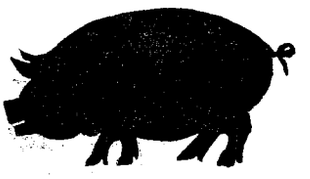
GRACE CAROLINE ALEXANDER—Has written and edited for the newspapers of Indianapolis. Author of a novel entitled Judith.

I. M. RUBINOW—Statistician and economist. Student and advocate of social insurance for the past 15 years. Author of Social Insurance (1913); Standards of Health Insurance (1916). He was consulting actuary of the California Social Insurance Commission in 1916 and Director of the Bureau of Social Statistics of the N. Y. C. Dept. of Public Charities in 1917. Born in Russia and graduate of Columbia.

MABEL ABBOTT—Reporter on the Daily News of Chicago.

H. G. WELLS.

ARTHUR RANSOME—An English writer who has spent many years in Russia, and is now correspondent in Russia for the London Daily News. He has written intimate folk-lore stories of Russian peasant life.



Bristles From 118,055 Hogs

It takes that number of hogs to supply the eight and a half million tooth-brushes bought yearly by The Delineator families. These same families buy tons of tooth-paste, millions of shoes and train-loads of food. Do you make anything of interest to the women who do the purchasing for a million progressive households?

The Delineator
The Magazine In One Million Homes

Whatever book you want

Wanamaker's

has it, or will get it.

NEW YORK and PHILADELPHIA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IS YOUR CITY, TOWN or VILLAGE A GOOD HOUSEKEEPER?

Conservation and economy must supplant loose methods and wastefulness in all municipal activities.

No field offers greater opportunity for improvement and war-time economy than the collection and removal of municipal wastes—ashes, sewage, garbage, rubbish and street refuse.

MUNICIPAL HOUSECLEANING

By WILLIAM PARR CAPES, Director New York State Bureau of Municipal Information, and JEANNE DANIELS CARPENTER. Net, $6.00

With an introduction by CORNELIUS F. BURNS.

Describes the methods and experiences of American cities with waste removal systems, and summarizes impartially the opinions of experts.

How ashes, garbage and rubbish are collected and disposed of, how streets are cleaned and the refuse removed, how sewage is treated, how cities are turning their waste into cash, how clean-up campaigns are organized and conducted—these are a few of the subjects the authors discuss in an understandable and interesting manner.

The material is based on the reports and data used by New York State municipalities in either establishing new systems or improving existing ones. The book embraces in a small compass and makes available for the first time complete and authoritative information about waste problems.

It should be read by every municipal official, student of government and red-blooded citizen who wants his town a better place in which to live, work and play.

CREATIVE IMPULSE in INDUSTRY

By HELEN MAROT. Net, $1.50

How is the industrial efficiency necessary to America after the war to be produced and maintained without Prussianizing the workers?

This is the question which Miss Marot answers in this forward-looking and stimulating book. She shows that productive force really depends (among free workers) on satisfaction of the creative impulse, and that this impulse in the worker must be recognized and educated.

HEALTH AND THE STATE

By WILLIAM A. BREND. Net, $4.00

A thorough consideration by a prominent English health expert of important questions of Health and Sanitation and a plea for the proper co-ordination of local and national authorities and for the formation of a Ministry of Health to promote efficiency in administration.

There is an enormous amount of valuable material collected here in connection with Infant Mortality, Health and National Insurance, Health Insurance and Fraud, Medical Treatment among the Working Classes, and allied subjects.

GENERAL POST A Comedy in Three Acts

By J. E. HAROLD TERRY. Net, $1.50

A clever and amusing social comedy, showing how the English caste-system is being undermined by the new war-conditions and how love can triumph over snobbery.

General Post has already had successful runs at the Gaiety Theatre, New York, and the Haymarket Theatre, London, and will be found to be as bright and enjoyable between book-covers as it is on the stage.

KARMA. A Re-Incarnation Play

By ALGERNON BLACKWOOD and VIOLET PEARN. Net, $1.60

The theme is the expiation of a fault committed in previous incarnations by a woman who is married to one man and is loved by another. The authors show us the same characters in four different lives, one of them being England of today, and the others being ancient Egypt, Greece in the time of Alexander, and Italy in the days of the Medicis. The fate of the three works itself out and reparation is made.

THE TRADE OF TOMORROW

By ERNEST J. P. BENN. Net, $1.50

A powerful argument, by one of England's soundest trade-economists, for the definite admission of Labor to a place in the Constitution, and its organization upon a representative basis.

The author offers a sane solution for some of our most confused industrial problems, and at the same time shows the way to a settlement of the difficulties of decentralization and devolution after the War.

SELECT CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY 1795-1910

By G. W. EYBERS. Net, $9.00

More than a volume of select documents, for it contains nearly all the instruments necessary to follow the broad lines of the constitutional history of the four colonies that formed the Union. There will also be found some mention of practically every important step taken towards the extension of British rule and the placing of native territories under European control.

THE LITTLE GIRL WHO COULDN'T-GET-OVER-IT

By ALFRED SCOTT BARRY. Net, $1.50

A tender, beautiful novel, about a wonderful little girl and an old bookseller, touching some things at the very heart of life and told with a delicate touch that will appeal straight to the emotions of all readers.

SALT or the Education of Griffith Adams

By CHARLES G. NORRIS. Net, $1.50

New York Sun says: "Salt is sure to be successful. Not so much because it is a big thing well done and a great many people will like it, as because a great many more will not like it—will in fact be badly shocked. If Charles Norris, who is the husband of Kathleen and the brother of Frank Norris, and so has fallen quite naturally into the way of being talented, had dealt with the tinsel and gauze of a reckless Four Hundred or with the squalor and vice of a recognized underworld, it would have caused sorrow, perhaps, and regret, but not horror. But he has shaken the foundation of that class which is, in turn, the foundation of our national life until the whole structure topples; and that this has been done only after deep and earnest thought renders the shock proportionately greater."

A VILLAGE IN PICARDY

By RUTH GAINES. Net, $1.50

Introduction by DR. WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON, *President of Smith College.*

This story of six months' relief work undertaken by the Smith College Unit in a tiny hamlet just behind the Front in France gives us some comprehension of what the American Red Cross Units can do and are doing in helping, in encouraging, and in restoring where the passage of the German savages has left destruction, devastation and despair.

It is a true and detailed document, simply and directly—yet charmingly—told by a member of the Smith College Unit which will bring home to the heart of America what the civilian population of France in the war zone are bearing today.

POSTAGE EXTRA *AT ALL BOOKSTORES*

E. P. DUTTON & COMPANY, 681 Fifth Avenue, NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED